The Outlook

Vol. 73 January 10, 1903 No. 2

CONTENTS

THE WEEK:

The Latest Delaware Election 93
Rhode Island: The Defeat of a Boss 94
The Philippines 95
The Tariff on Art 96
Coal and Oil 96
The Steel Trust's Profit-Sharing 97
Street Railway Conditions 98
The Insurrection in Morocco 98
The Delhi Durbar 99
Mr. Chamberlain in South Africa 100
The Chinese Indemnity 100
Anti-Vivisection Bills 101
For Better Religious Education 102
The Harput Orphanage 102
With Lepers in Surinam 103

EDITORIALS:

Tammany Outdone in Minneapolis 104
The Practical Test 106
The Gifts of Millionaires 107
Impressions of a Careless Traveler. L. A. 110

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES:

The Mosely Commission: A Study of American Workmen by British Workmen 113
By George Lynch

If We but Knew (Poem) 117
By Clarence Hawkes

James Bryce 118
By Justin McCarthy

The Young Finlander and the National Spirit 124
By H. M. Donner

BOOKS AND AUTHORS:

The Boer Side of the Boer War (De Wet's Three Years' War) 128
Bishop Potter on Industrial Duties 131
Books of the Week 133

The Outlook is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The first issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

Price.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

Postage is Prepaid by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila Samoa, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

Change of Address.—When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

Discontinuances.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of the paper discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

How to Remit.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of THE OUTLOOK COMPANY. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

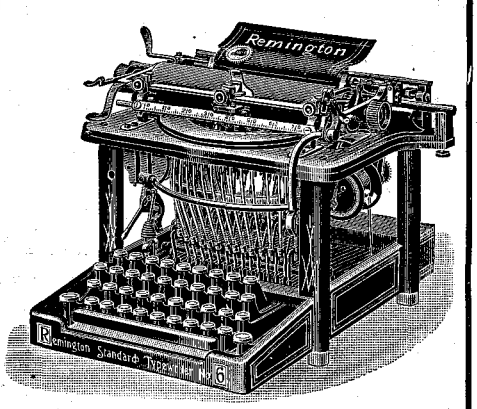
Letters should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

287 Fourth Avenue, New York

Copyright, 1902, by The Outlook Company. Entered as second-class matter in the New York Post-Office.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Remington

Typewriter

Simple? Yes
Sure? Yes
Swift? Yes
Strong? Yes

Remington Typewriter Co.
327 Broadway, New York

Registered Trade Mark

Annual Sale.

Remnants of Table Linen By the Yard

A large variety of good designs is included in this lot and all are offered at substantial reduction from regular prices.

2 yard lengths	$1.80	2.25	2.40	2.70	3.10
2½ yard lengths	$2.25	2.75	3.00	4.00	5.00
2¾ yard lengths	$2.50	3.00	3.30	3.75	
3 yard lengths	$2.75	3.35	3.65	4.00	
3½ yard lengths	$3.10	3.90	4.25	4.70	
4 yard lengths	$3.60	4.50	4.80	5.35	

At this January Sale we also offer Table Cloths, Napkins, Towels, Bed Linen, Blankets, etc., at reduced prices.

32-page booklet telling about these goods mailed free.

Mail orders have prompt attention.

"The Linen Store"

James McCutcheon & Co.
14 West 23d Street, N. Y.

The "Ivory" is a favorite shaving soap because it makes a profuse, rich lather, which softens the beard that is to be removed and leaves the skin unharmed. It costs about one-fifth as much as the so-called shaving soaps, and many who have used it for this purpose for years will not have any other.

It Floats.

The Farmers' Loan and Trust Compan

Chartered 1822

Nos. 16, 18, 20, and 22 WILLIAM STREE
NEW YORK

CAPITAL AND UNDIVIDED PROFITS, $7,800,0

The Company is a legal depositary for moneys paid i Court, and is authorized to act as Executor, Administra Trustee, Guardian, Receiver, and in all other Fiduciary pacities.

Acts as Trustee under Mortgages made by Railroad other Corporations, and as Transfer Agent and Registra Stocks and Bonds.

Receives deposits upon Certificates of Deposit, or sub to check and

ALLOWS INTEREST ON DAILY BALANC

Manages Real Estate and lends money on bond and mortg

Acts as Agent for the transaction of any approved finan business.

EDWIN S. MARSTON, President.
THOS. J. BARNETT, 2d Vice-President.
SAMUEL SLOAN, Jr., Secretary.
AUGUSTUS V. HEELY, Ass't Sec'y.
WILLIAM B. CARDOZO, Ass't Sec'y.
CORNELIUS R. AGNEW, Ass't Se

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Samuel Sloan,	James Stillman,
William Waldorf Astor,	Moses Taylor Pyne,
S. S. Palmer,	Henry A. C. Taylor,
D. O. Mills,	E. R. Holden,
Robert F. Ballantine,	William Rowland,
Franklin D. Locke,	Edward R. Bacon,
George F. Baker,	H. Van Rensselaer Kenned
Charles A. Peabody,	Cleveland H. Dodge,
Hugh D. Auchincloss,	John L. Riker,
D. H. King, Jr.,	Daniel S. Lamont,
Henry Hentz,	A. G. Agnew,
Robert C. Boyd,	Henry H. Rogers,
Archibald D. Russell,	P. A. Valentine,

Edwin S. Marston.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Outlook

Published Weekly

Vol. 73 January 10, 1903 No. 2

The Latest Delaware Election

The election for Member of Assembly in the ninth representative district of Kent County, Delaware, which was held at Harrington and Farmington on Tuesday of last week, gave J. Edward Addicks another vote in the contest that he is making for the United States Senatorship, and furnished another proof of the gradual disintegration of the Democratic party in southern Delaware under the influence of Mr. Addicks's money. The ninth district of Kent County is normally Democratic, and in 1900 it gave a Democratic plurality of 119 on a total vote of about 800. In the general election two months ago this plurality was wiped out; and as the Addicks candidate and the Democratic candidate were tied—each receiving 424 votes—another election was ordered. This election was held on Tuesday last, and resulted in a plurality of 192 for the Addicks candidate, Mr. Powell. Inasmuch as the candidates presented and the questions involved in Tuesday's election were exactly the same as in the election of November 4, the extraordinary and unprecedented change from a tied vote to an Addicks plurality of 192, in less than eight weeks, raises, naturally, a presumption of fraud. An analysis of the vote shows that the gain of the Addicks candidate was made chiefly at the expense of the Democrats, who, to the number of 120, absented themselves from the polls. A staff correspondent of The Outlook who has been studying the Delaware situation on the ground writes that it is charged by the Regular Republicans and the Democrats that, after the November election, Addicks "workers" drove about the district for weeks bribing purchasable Democrats not to vote; that by a lavish use of money they induced forty men in the northern part of the district and sixty or eighty in the southern part to stay away from the polls, and that then they bought enough "floaters"—chiefly negroes—on election day to make up their plurality of 192—paying for them at the rate of from $5 to $20 per vote. If Mr. Addicks's money holds out, and if he be not deterred by criminal prosecution from further buying of votes, there is little doubt that two years hence he will carry every election district in the counties of Kent and Sussex, get absolute control of the Legislature, and go, with another Union Republican of his own choice, to the Senate of the United States. His managers openly boast that if they do not elect Mr. Addicks to the Senate this winter they will "wipe up the earth" with the opposition in 1904.

❀

The Situation in the Delaware Legislature

Under the new State Constitution the General Assembly of Delaware consists of seventeen Senators and thirty-five Representatives, and when the two houses meet in joint session on the 20th of January, to ballot for United States Senator, twenty-seven votes will be needed to elect. The numerical strength of the respective parties in the present Legislature is believed to be as follows: Union (Addicks) Republicans, 23; Democrats, 21; Regular (anti-Addicks) Republicans, 8. Mr. Addicks, therefore, lacks four of a majority, and cannot be elected without the aid of four men from the ranks of the opposition. That he will secure such aid seems at present to be in the highest degree improbable, although it is alleged that he would pay, without hesitation, $25,000—or even $50,000—apiece for the votes that he requires. The feeling of hostility to him in the Regular Republican party is so strong that he cannot possibly get any support from that source, and the Democrats are confident that none of their men would dare to sell out

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to him, even if they should feel so disposed. In the present excited state of public feeling, a Democrat who should vote for Mr. Addicks would probably be thrown out of one of the State House windows. All that Addicks can do at present, therefore, is to hold up the Legislature and prevent the election of anybody, and this he can do only in case personal and factional ambitions and animosities prevent the Democrats and Regular Republicans from combining against him. If there be no choice of United States Senator this winter, the responsibility for the failure to elect will rest, first, upon Mr. Addicks, and, second, upon the Regular Republican party. The Democrats are willing to enter into a combination with the Regular Republicans, provided the latter will give them one of the two vacant Senatorial seats. They do not even insist on having the long-term Senatorship, but will take the short term and give the long term to the Regulars if the latter will help them to eliminate Mr. Addicks as a factor in Delaware politics. This, however, the Regular Republicans are not now disposed to do. Some of them are personally hostile to Willard Saulsbury, who would probably be the Democratic nominee, while others have Senatorial ambitions of their own with which a coalition might interfere. As The Outlook believes in the party system of government, it can understand the reluctance of Democrats to ally themselves with Republicans, or *vice versa*, in ordinary political contests. But this is not an ordinary political contest; it is a National scandal.

❀

The Defeat of a State Boss

Rhode Island enjoys the political distinction of being the only State north of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi having a Democratic Governor. Dr. Lucius C. Garvin was elected to the gubernatorial chair last autumn on the Democratic ticket by the astounding plurality of over 7,000 in a State which for years has been overwhelmingly Republican. While the Legislature of the State has a joint Republican majority, it is not so large as to make it impossible for Governor Garvin to influence in a very considerable degree the legislative as well as to direct the executive branch of the State government. A very interesting and picturesque story, the story of the defeat of a powerful and strongly intrenched boss, is connected with Governor Garvin's election. For many years Rhode Island has been a boss-ridden State, General Charles R. Brayton having been the commanding and controlling figure in Republican State politics for nearly a quarter of a century. General Brayton was a brilliant soldier in the Civil War, and, like many of his fellow-officers, went into politics. He became postmaster of Providence, one of the most desirable offices in the State, but lost his position owing to an alleged improper political use on his part of Government money. For a time the machine politicians ignored him, but he soon regained his political position, and it is hardly too much to say that he has assumed and exercised the function of a political dictator. Much of the time he has held no political office, but has had his desk in the State Capitol, from which he has guided and directed legislation. A few years ago he became blind, but this did not interfere with his control over the machine. At his desk he has received Representatives, Senators, and corporation agents on equal terms. There is a current story that once he became impatient at a long session of the House, and, after waiting for his luncheon until his hunger increased and his patience diminished beyond the point of endurance, he summoned the Sheriff and instructed him to go in and see that the House adjourned. What the Sheriff did is not a matter of record, but it is known that when General Brayton reached his hotel the House had also reached it. Under General Brayton's influence very obnoxious corporation laws have been passed in Rhode Island. Indeed, his success in controlling and shaping legislation for purely material ends and with very little regard to the rights and welfare of the people at large brought him to that state of mind which has preceded the downfall of so many political bosses before him.

❀

The Victory of a Persistent Reformer

For nineteen years General Brayton and the "organization" have had a quiet but persistent opponent. Dr. Lucius Garvin, a country physician, has been constantly elected from his district as a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Democrat even in years when the Republicans were overwhelmingly in control. At first the bills that he introduced and the speeches that he made were either ignored or ridiculed. He was considered a crank and a radical, but finally some of his measures began to attract popular support. He persisted in writing to the papers and making public speeches advocating the measures which he had unsuccessfully introduced into the House. In this way the State at large gradually learned something about his personality, his character, and his political beliefs. He was instrumental in the passage of the factory inspection law, of the bill to make the working day for motormen and conductors ten hours, and in the abolition of the landed-property qualification of the suffrage. This enlargement of the suffrage increased the vote of Rhode Island about a hundred per cent., and was of course of direct and distinct advantage to those whom Lincoln called "the plain people." The serious street railway strike of the employees of the Rhode Island Electric Railway last summer, which involved the cities of Providence and Pawtucket in dangerous rioting, was a factor in the election. It was alleged that General Brayton, the head of the political machine, had practically acted as a special agent of the Rhode Island company in the passage of legislation favorable to its interests. Dr. Garvin, who opposed the political injustices which he believed were practiced by the Rhode Island company, not only surprised the State by winning the Democratic nomination against formidable opposition, but, having been nominated, still more astonished the expert politicians by winning the election. It is another instance of the fact that powerful boss rule may be, and often is, overthrown by patient, persistent, and upright effort to guard and preserve the real interests of the public. What Dr. Garvin will do in the executive chair time only can tell, but we earnestly hope that he will show such a combination of practical wisdom and scrupulous integrity that the political managers of the State may be convinced that honesty is the best policy, even if they are unable to understand, aspire to, or practice honesty on other and higher grounds.

The Philippines: Official Reports

The annual report of the Philippine Commission, and also a separate report from Governor Taft, have just been made public by the War Department. With regard to existing conditions, the reports agree in stating that armed opposition to our forces has practically ceased, that civil government has been extended in a hopeful way, that ladronism continues to be the great curse of the islands, and that its prevalence is largely due to the lamentable condition of agriculture, caused partly by war and the ravages of cholera and partly by the loss through disease of nine-tenths of the water-buffalo, on which the cultivation of rice is entirely dependent. Governor Taft states that the Moros do not understand popular government and do not desire it, and that the control by dattos or native chiefs may cease far in the future, but at present it is necessary to provide "a paternal, strong, but sympathetic government for these followers of Mahomet." During the year ending June 30, 1902, imports have amounted in full to forty-one millions, exports to twenty-seven millions; capital seems to be timid in going to the Philippines. In the recommendations of the two reports stress is laid on the need of currency reform and the reduction of duties on imports into the United States from the Philippines—the Commission recommends a reduction of at least seventy-five per cent. Governor Taft speaks earnestly about the labor problem, and commends the organization of labor unions as likely, if properly directed, to give laborers a sense of the dignity of labor and of their independence. He declares the objections to the unlimited introduction of Chinese to be logical, and thinks it would prove an obstacle to the opening of markets for Philippine products by the United States. The Commission, on this point, ask that power be given to admit a limited number of Chinese, certified to be skilled laborers, "on the bond of the employer that for every Chinese skilled laborer employed he will employ a Filipino apprentice, and that he will return the Chinese skilled laborer thus introduced within five years after his admission to the country, and that he shall pay a tax of not exceeding $50 for each Chinaman so admitted to the insular government to meet the expenses of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enforcement of these restrictions." It will be noted that this proposition contains at least one important restriction not contained in the plans for admitting Chinese labor which have hitherto been discussed in this country. Nevertheless, the imposing of these restrictions does not meet the objection that the plan essentially amounts to authorizing coolie contract labor, under which the laborers would for years have no control of their own industrial conditions. Other important recommendations of the Commission are that individuals or corporations may be allowed to hold interest in more than one mining claim; and that the amount of public land which may be sold or held by individuals or corporations shall be increased to twenty-five thousand acres, the argument being that, as the Government owns sixty-five out of seventy million acres, there is no danger of concentration of ownership in individuals or corporations.

❀

The Tariff on Art

The bill removing the duty on works of art provides that works of art which were created fifty years before the date of importation shall be free of duty. Some obscurity of statement in the comment of The Outlook upon this bill two weeks ago led to misapprehension as to the provisions of the bill. The movement of which the bill is the expression seems to be gaining ground. Mr. Kenyon Cox, the Secretary of the Fine Arts Federation, recently said that, while there might not be any action on the bill during the present session, it was hoped that a hearing would be given by the Ways and Means Committee in order that the arguments in favor of the bill might be laid before Congress and so before the country. It is hoped also to engage the personal attention of President Roosevelt, whose interest in all matters relating to the development of the higher civilization of the country, and whose sympathy with art in all its forms, would naturally commit him to a wise and most generous policy. The most noticeable aspect of the agitation is found in the fact that there is no serious opposition to the proposed modification of the tariff law. No official body or person has recently declared in favor of the protection of the American artist. It would seem as if the time were ripe for entirely removing the tariff from works of art; but, in the judgment of the men who have the matter in charge, it is better to take one step at a time. The few people who think that art can be protected are not opposed to the free importation of works of art which are more than fifty years old. Mr. Ruckstuhl, who has recently resigned his position in charge of the sculpture at the World's Fair to be held in St. Louis next year, declares that he regards any tax on art from the point of view of protection as absurd. It is, in effect, a denial of American talent in art. The American artists are amply able to take care of themselves; they have made great advances during the past few years; they have developed men who rank with the first artists of the world, and they are creating a new school of art which promises to take its place with the great schools of the past. In Mr. Ruckstuhl's judgment, the taxing of collections made in Europe by such men as Mr. Pierpont Morgan, composed as they are largely of works of art that can never be duplicated, is absurd:

> We have first-class painters and sculptors, although not so many as there are in Europe. But a picture of an old master cannot possibly compete with modern works of art, because it was painted when the art of painting was practiced as it never can be practiced again. It was the reflex of a spiritual and intellectual condition which cannot be repeated here. Our modern tendency is in a different direction. A painting by an old master would be an acquisition, as are the writings of Homer, Virgil, and Dante, which were the result of a different spiritual atmosphere from that of to-day, and must be appreciated simply for their intrinsic beauty, for the expression of a life and a social state which are forever past, and, therefore, in a large measure must be entered in the category of archæological and ethnological things, so to speak.

❀

The Coal Scarcity and Dearer Oil

The coal famine remains unbroken, although the December output at the mines was the greatest on record. The mild weather in the anthracite-using district last week kept the situation from becoming acute, but even in New York City, where the coal roads converge, the great body of consumers are compelled to pay from eight to ten dollars a ton. Those who have turned to the use of oil in this emergency have been chagrined to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

find the price of this fuel also advanced. Almost at the same time that the Standard Oil Company announced another dividend—bringing the aggregate of the year up to forty-five per cent. on its $100,000,000 of capitalization—it advanced the price of oil a cent a gallon in barrels, and two cents a gallon in cases. The Standard Oil Company is so continuously cited by trust apologists as their illustration of the possibility of lower prices through the monopolization of an industry that it is of interest to compare present prices with those prevailing when the monopoly was established in 1882. An examination of the record shows that oil to-day is actually dearer than it was twenty years ago. Prior to that time the price of refined oil had fallen, as a rule, from seven to ten per cent. each year ever since petroleum was first put upon the market at the beginning of the Civil War. Export prices by the barrel mean little to the ordinary consumer, but they form the official basis of comparison. In the decade preceding the complete establishment of the trust the export price of oil by the barrel in New York fell from 24 cents a gallon to 7½ cents. During the two decades following this event, the price of oil by the barrel has risen from 7½ cents a gallon in 1882 to 8½ cents a gallon in 1903. If improvements in manufacturing and economies in production have gone on as in the days of competition in the oil industry, the public has surely not received the benefit.

❀

The Steel Trust's Profit-Sharing

On New Year's Eve the United States Steel Corporation announced an elaborate plan—or rather two elaborate plans—which it has adopted for sharing future profits with its employees. The first of these, which is open to all its employees, but particularly to the ordinary wage-earners, offers them the opportunity to purchase on extremely easy terms 25,000 shares of preferred stock at a trifle less than the current market price, and promises them thereon not only the regular seven per cent. dividends whenever earned, but also a further dividend of five dollars a year for each share so long as the owner remains in the "continuous" employment of the Corporation. The employees are divided into five grades according to the amount of their earnings, and those of the fifth grade—getting $800 a year or less—are permitted to invest 20 per cent. of their year's earnings in the preferred stock, while employees of the next higher grade may invest but 15 per cent., and those of the very highest grade only 5 per cent. Furthermore, the employees of the higher grades cannot purchase any of the preferred shares until the subscribers of the lower grades have received their full allotment, if they care to buy shares. This feature of the offer calls attention to the fact that only a minority of the employees can become profit-sharers under this scheme, as there are only 25,000 of the "profit-sharing shares" and there are 168,000 persons in the employment of the Company. Expressed in simple terms, therefore, the amount of the offer is this: The Company will help several thousand of its employees to become shareholders, lending them, if necessary, at 5 per cent. interest, the money needed to buy the shares. To these shareholders, so long as they remain in the continuous employment of the Company, it will out of its profits distribute a bonus of $5 a share, or $125,000 in all. This means a bonus of $10 a year to the workman who gets the two shares for which most of them are allowed to subscribe, but if it were distributed among the whole body of the employees it would amount to less than a dollar apiece. The other portion of the profit-sharing offer is decidedly liberal. This is made only to those holding official positions or in some way responsible for economical management. To members of this class the Company offers a share in the profits rising from 1 per cent. when the profits aggregate $80,000,000 a year to 2½ per cent. when the profits reach $150,000,000. Upon the profits reported by President Schwab last May ($115,000,000), the bonus paid to officials under this plan would have been 1.6 per cent., or $1,840,000—or fifteen times the bonus allotted to workmen becoming shareholders. The New York "Tribune's" despatch from Pittsburg reports that the higher officials warmly applaud the new plan of profit-sharing, but that the workmen almost universally condemn it, declaring that the bonus offered them is of little value and bound by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conditions lessening their freedom to quit work. Other despatches, however, indicate that some of the workmen are eagerly subscribing for the preferred shares, and the friends of profit-sharing hope that the purpose of the Corporation to express and promote good feeling between employers and employed may yet be achieved among the wage-earners as it already is among the employees holding the more responsible positions.

❀

Street Railway Conditions

Two important and definite results have already followed the investigation into the intolerable conditions now existing on the street and elevated railways in New York. The investigation of the New York Street Railway Commission was really forced by the fact that the crowding of the cars and other objectionable features had reached such a point that the public could no longer endure them. The Commission has now issued a peremptory order directing the elevated railways to continue during what are called non-rush hours the full service afforded in the rush hours; it has also directed that the elevated roads shall by the end of March add three hundred cars to those already in service (thus giving room for fourteen thousand more passengers than under the present service), and that a third track be constructed in certain parts of the system. While the officials of the road say, with some appearance of justice, that less than the full service may suffice to seat all passengers at certain times of the day, it is certain that accommodation has not been furnished at times when it might easily have been provided, and it would be difficult to frame an order which would accomplish the end sought in any other way than by demanding full service all the time. The other result of the investigation to which we have referred was the rather startling recommendation of the Grand Jury of Kings County in its presentment as to the service provided by the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company. The Grand Jury not only emphatically asserted that the cars are poorly ventilated, dirty, badly lighted and badly heated, and that the crowding of people in them during the rush hours is shameful and indecent, but it went further, and, after making specific recommendations for municipal legislation on the points above stated, advised municipal control and operation. Whether or not this recommendation by the Grand Jury is beyond the usual scope of the action of such a body is a matter of no particular importance; it is of very great public interest that an official and legal body of this kind should reach this solution. The presentment of the Grand Jury declares that "the efficiency and advisability of the participation of government in this sort of work has been abundantly demonstrated," and it points to the water system of New York and other large cities, the economical conduct of gas plants owned in many cities of the United States and Great Britain, and especially the management of the Brooklyn Bridge, as convincing examples of what may be done through municipal control. Finally, the Grand Jury recommends that the municipality of New York acquire all the street, elevated, and tunnel railway systems, and operate them for the benefit of the city, with the further suggestion that the Attorney-General might properly take action for the forfeiture of the franchises of these companies on the ground that they have not performed the functions allotted to them by their charters, and that after such forfeiture the city could properly obtain control. It is not probable that these recommendations will be followed immediately or as a whole, but the action of the Grand Jury has certainly set the people of the city thinking about the possibilities of municipal control in the future, and it should at least prove a warning to the companies involved that public utilities must be so managed that public comfort and public decency shall be maintained.

❀

The Insurrection in Morocco

Last week's news from Morocco was hardly of a reassuring nature. The country is suffering from a case of "Pretender." In the present instance the Pretender's name is Omar Zarahuni, a native of the mountain district near Fez, the capital. He began his mission, it is said, with such clever exhibitions of conjuring tricks that the superstitious natives came to regard him as possessed of superhuman power. Omar was not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slow to take advantage of his opportunity and began to preach larger things, taking care also to preach humility of spirit. He rides only a donkey, so it is reported, and is preceded by a man carrying a prayer-rug. He inaugurated a jehad, or holy war, against the Sultan, and, in his own opinion, so close to success has he come that he has appointed viziers and other officials and set up a court with every symbol of royalty. After taking several strongholds, he besieged Fez itself, but, perhaps because of unexpected resistance, now claims that he is fighting, not to seize the throne himself, but in order to enthrone the Sultan's brother, who had been unjustly degraded and imprisoned, but has now been released by the Sultan. The army of the Sultan has been already severely crippled; he is now strengthening the defenses of Fez. As the insurrection extends to the wild tribes who live on both sides of the still rather inaccurately defined Moroccan frontier, France has ordered thither detachments from the twenty-five thousand zouaves and tirailleurs who guard the Moroccan-Algerian hinterland, while Spain patrols the African coast with war-ships. Thus the insurrection may yet involve the Powers, despite their joint assurance last week that they would regard it only as "an internal affair."

❀

The Future of Morocco

Bismarck once prophesied that the Moroccan question would set all Europe by the ears. But the question is simpler than it was in his day. It is seen that France, because it now possesses all the land about Morocco, is the Power chiefly interested in Morocco's future; indeed, were Morocco added to Algiers and Tunis (the only really admirable French colonies), the last obstacle to a great, logically rounded French North African empire would be removed. Hence, France has long been looking for an excuse to invade Morocco, of course "as a protective measure." When that invasion occurs, it will be far more significant of future control than Spain's descent upon Ceuta or England's upon Tangier. Those are coast places on the fringe of the great unconquered country. For Morocco itself has never known foreign dominion. The Turks progressed westward no further than Tunis and Algiers, and the Arabs no further than the Moroccan lowlands. The people of the main part of the country, of the mountains, have always been independent, fierce, fanatical. Neither France nor any other Power will easily conquer those mountain tribes. Yet if France does this ultimately, the Powers will also demand, and rightly, the fulfillment of certain conditions. Spain, as the nearest part of Europe to Morocco, as possessing Ceuta and Melilla on the Moroccan mainland, and as having a greater number of subjects in Morocco than those from any other European country, might be pacified by a great money equivalent in return for Spanish-African territory, and by an entrance into the Franco-Russian alliance. England, as the possessor of Gibraltar, opposite and close to Tangier, would demand a guarantee that a free highway to the Orient should be preserved. Germany would stipulate that her traders now busily at work in building up a new market (ousting the English, who in Morocco have hitherto had twice the trade of any other power) should be protected in their present extraordinary privileges. This protection, however, should not be the exclusive possession of any one nation; it should be extended to all traders. As the brave Boers have fallen before the British, so the savage Moors may fall before the French. But, as the world's commerce will be the gainer through the opening to it of South Africa, so the open-door policy should one day be applied to North Africa.

❀

The Imperial Durbar at Delhi

The culmination of the splendid festivities at Delhi in honor of Edward VII. was his proclamation as Emperor of India on New Year's Day. India is always fond of gorgeous spectacles, and the ruling nation has always encouraged Oriental magnificence and has indeed cleverly used it for the support of Occidental rule. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, and Lady Curzon, his American wife, were surrounded by a brilliant group of notables, white and brown; the Duke of Connaught represented his royal and imperial brother; Lord Kitchener stood for the military might of the Empire; native princes and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rajahs clad in silks and resplendent in jewels surrounded the amphitheater whence the proclamation was made; on the plain around were thousands of soldiers, not only British, but Pathans, Ghoorkas, and other native regiments, batteries drawn by elephants, cavalry in picturesque variety of uniform, and beyond a vast multitude of the common people in clothing of many hues. The durbar was opened with the flourish of trumpets, the royal standard was raised on high, bonfires were lighted far and wide, and finally the Viceroy read a message from King Edward, renewing "the assurances of my regard for the liberties of the Indian people; of my respect for their dignities and rights; of my interest in their advancement, and of my devotion to their welfare." Lord Curzon's own address prophesied prosperity for India, and incidentally announced that it had been decided not to exact interest for three years on all loans made or guaranteed by the Government of India to the Native States in connection with the recent famine. One especially interesting feature of the durbar week (for a whole week was given up to ceremonies and functions) was the opening of the Indian Arts Exhibition. Lord Curzon's address was a strong plea for arresting the progress of decay in the native arts, and the debasing of modern models. He said that it was certain that if many old Indian arts and handicrafts were to be revived and placed in a flourishing condition, it could only be done by the patronage of the Indian chiefs, the aristocracy and cultured persons, but so long as these preferred to fill their palaces with flaming Brussels carpet, cheap British furniture, Italian mosaics, French oleographs, Austrian lusters, and German brocades, there was not much hope.

❀

Mr. Chamberlain in South Africa

With more or less justice, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, has been regarded in many quarters as an instigator of the Boer war, not only because of the character of his correspondence with President Kruger immediately preceding that conflict, but also because of his attitude regarding the Jameson Raid. Friend and foe, therefore, will note with satisfaction that, instead of directing from London the settlement of the complicated questions in South Africa resulting from the war, Mr. Chamberlain is giving his personal attention to them on the ground itself. He has arrived in Natal, and his visit will include all of the British colonies in that part of the African continent. He purposes to confer with the representatives of all the different interests concerned, Boer and British alike. As to the latter, his speeches have already excited much colonial enthusiasm. One of his critics remarked that, after the extraordinary achievement of inducing the people of Natal to shout themselves hoarse over the privilege of taxing themselves for the payment of millions of war losses, Mr. Chamberlain ought to be sent from one end of the Empire to the other, as the seductive recruiting sergeant and practical tax-gatherer of the Imperial Federation. At all events, the Colonial Secretary's present undertaking constitutes a new and personal element in the consolidation of the Empire. It is certainly a statesmanlike departure from the routine ruts of administration. It may even result in such a contribution to the growth of imperial feeling in England and in the colonies that a series of official visits to each of the chief groups of British possessions will be undertaken.

❀

The Chinese Indemnity

Wu-Ting-Fang, until a month ago Chinese Minister to the United States, declared long since that his country would be found to be unable to pay in gold the entire amount of the indemnity demanded by the Powers for the Boxer outrages of 1900. When the first payment became due on July 1, 1902, it was offered in silver, which had then somewhat depreciated in value. This payment was accepted under protest by all the foreign Governments concerned. Our own Government, accepting the statement of Minister Wu and having an earnest interest in the preservation of China's integrity and perpetuity as a nation, reserved the right to demand any balance of the installment due if the entire settlement should ultimately be made on a gold basis as agreed. This tolerant attitude gave great comfort to the Chinese—who now offer the second payment in a still more depreciated currency—and propor-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionate discomfort to the representatives of the other Governments at Peking. They ascribe the present difficulty to the quasi-favor shown by the United States Government to the silver argument. When the treaty arrangement was made, the value in gold of the Chinese tael was nearly seventy-five cents; since then the tael's value has depreciated until it is now worth slightly over sixty cents. To liquidate on a gold basis, therefore, China would be obliged to pay the difference between these figures on every tael, which in the aggregate, according to Minister Wu, would deplete the Government's resources and leave it bankrupt. Yet the Foreign Ministers at Peking apparently insist more stoutly than ever that indemnity payments should be made on a gold basis—that is, in silver at the ratio of gold which existed at the time when the indemnity was fixed. The present loss indicates some idea of the tremendous burden under which any country labors in attempting to do business with foreign nations on the silver standard. The opposition to payments in a depreciated currency may produce, not only an immediately serious internal situation, so far as the actual Chinese Government is concerned, but also a far more difficult international complication in reopening questions which not long since threatened to bring about the partition of China among the Powers. Instead of such a result, The Outlook prefers to think that out of the present imbroglio there may arise a new case to be submitted to the Hague Tribunal of Arbitration.

❀

Anti-Vivisection Bills

For some time anti-vivisectionists have been trying to put through Congress certain bills to restrict and largely to prohibit experiments upon living animals in the District of Columbia. These bills, if passed, would undoubtedly have great influence upon the Legislatures of the various States. It happened that a recent surgical operation, which has attracted much public attention, performed successfully upon a midshipman of the Naval Academy, was made possible by discoveries of vivisectionists. The surgeon who performed the operation, Dr. W. W. Keen, of Philadelphia, one of the highest authorities of his profession in this country, wrote to Senator Gallinger, the sponsor of these bills, informing him of this fact. Thereupon Senator Gallinger replied at some length. He greatly weakened his case, however, both by making an unworthy intimation that Dr. Keen was guilty of misrepresentation and was actuated by motives of self-advertisement, and by assuming to write with the authority of a medical expert rather than from the point of view of a public man. Without these defects his argument is that "it is unsafe to reason from the brains of animals to that of man," that experiments upon man based upon such reasoning have been "to a great extent disastrous," that it is uncivilized to ignore the "altruism" of prohibiting experiments upon living animals and to prefer the "selfishness" of using such experiments for the purpose of "helping humanity," and that there is "undoubted testimony" to facts of horrible and malicious cruelty, cases of which he cites.

❀

Dr. Keen's Reply

Dr. Keen, in his very dignified but incisive rejoinder, calls attention to the fact that Senator Gallinger took his medical degree many years ago, and since that time there has been a great advance in surgery, of which Mr. Gallinger, occupied by other duties, can have but little knowledge, and informs his opponent that "facts derived from experiments upon animals are applied surgically to the brain of man with greatest exactness," and that he himself had applied such facts scores and scores of times. "Were it not for experiments upon animals," he continues, "medicine would be in the wretched darkness of thirty years ago, and we surgeons would be practicing the unintentional cruelty to man of the surgery of the Civil War." As to the cases of cruelty cited by Mr. Gallinger, Dr. Keen calls attention to the fact that no data are given by which the original statements can be referred to and verified. In closing he renews his protest against the anti-vivisection bills, which, though offered with good intention, would, if passed, be as inhuman as a law "forbidding any person to aid in rescuing a drowning man." In discussions of this kind the scientific opinion of such an expert as Dr. Keen ought to be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

final in determining the opinion of the layman, otherwise knowledge would be at the mercy of ignorance. As regards the ethics of the discussion, it is plain that the view which considers the prohibition of experiments upon living animals as "altruism," and the application of such experiments for saving human life as "selfishness," would logically place the veterinary surgeon at the head of the medical profession and would exalt the Brahminical civilization above the Christian. On the legal side, the practice of vivisection, like everything else which concerns physical pain and death, should be carefully guarded from inexpert hands, and should be limited to those who are thoroughly qualified for it by training; but to prohibit it because some surgeons are cruel would be like abolishing law courts and newspapers because some lawyers and editors are immoral. The people have the right to say that it is unwise to allow the practice of vivisection in the public schools—and The Outlook believes that they ought to say so—but they also have the right to profit by discoveries made and physiological laws established as the result of vivisection carried on by scientific men.

❀

For Better Religious Education

A forward movement of great significance "for the improvement of religious and moral education through the Sunday-school and other agencies" has been inaugurated under the auspices of the Council of Seventy directing the American Institute of Sacred Literature at Chicago. For this purpose a National organization is proposed, and a formal call has been issued for a Convention to create it. The Convention will be held at Chicago, February 10–12. It will be remembered that at the International Sunday-School Convention in Denver last June the Lesson Committee reported that the majority of Sunday-schools are so inadequately organized and manned that only the simplest plans of study can be made effective. The call for the Convention states that perhaps twenty-five per cent. of our Sunday-schools have reached a stage of development ready for the introduction of a gradation both of pupils and of the material of instruction. While it is recognized as unwise to attempt to replace the uniform system of the International Lessons, suited as it is to the large majority of Sunday-schools, the immediate need in these, says the call, "is to inspire a higher educational ideal of Biblical, moral, and religious instruction." But it is not intended "to duplicate or rival the work which any organization is now carrying on;" rather, to co-operate closely with the churches, and to supplement and assist the work of the various other organizations. Under present conditions "the greater number of children grow up without correct and adequate religious and moral education." These conditions have for years been recognized with increasing dissatisfaction. Individuals have striven singly and in groups to better them, but there is needed some leadership to unify such efforts. This it is proposed to supply as the scheme is progressively worked out by the directors and committees of the proposed association. Its immediate work will be the creation of an adequate literature of the movement, exhibiting desirable ideals and methods, and beginning a campaign of education on the whole subject. The list of signers to the call includes the names of about a hundred presidents and professors of colleges and seminaries, with a larger number of pastors and others interested in Sunday-schools, including Dr. B. B. Tyler, President of the International Sunday-School Association. Conferences between the leaders of the movement and the signers of the call are being held in some of the larger cities, to prepare for the organization and work of the Convention by preliminary comparison of views, and by securing agreement on the course to be pursued in an uncharted sea. The strength at present apparent in the movement is highly auspicious. The Outlook is in full accord with the belief expressed by the Council of Seventy, that "this movement . . . is a normal, timely, and vital step in the development of our Christian civilization." The time is ripe for the proposed work, and the field is large and open.

❀

The Harput Orphanage

In the annual report of Consul Norton, of Harput, Asiatic Turkey, we find a reference to the Harput Orphanage, conducted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and sustained by American benevolence. Most of our news from Asia Minor comes from the American missionaries there, and is naturally of great interest to the religious world; it is a satisfaction also to chronicle tidings which show how valuable the work of American missionaries, educators, and philanthropists may be in the direction of industry. Speaking of textiles, Mr. Norton says that, although his region produces an excellent grade of cotton, the native manufacture, which, owing to the abundant water-power, should be a large one, is quite the contrary, as it is dependent entirely upon hand-power. The only advance is due to the Harput Orphanage, which has introduced the weaving of attractive patterns to meet the popular taste, and is doing much to enable local industry to compete with English, German, and French looms. As to rug-weaving, the production from the Kurdish looms of the region extends but little beyond local needs, while the rug department of the American orphanage is steadily perfecting its work and turning out products which find a ready sale in the United States. The Harput Orphanage is able to command a dollar per square foot for its rugs, a price much in excess of the average of Oriental make, and this is due largely to the fact that the yarns employed in our orphanage are dyed exclusively with vegetable coloring matter. The increasingly widespread use of the crudely brilliant but fugitive aniline dyes in coloring materials for rug-weaving in Turkey is distinctly deplorable, and has already led to a steady depreciation of their value in the eyes of American and European connoisseurs, when contrasted with the products of Persian and Indian looms.——Another indication of American advance in commercial conditions at Harput is an incidental one. The various edifices of Euphrates College and of the American mission station at Harput were destroyed in the massacres of 1895. In the rebuilding of these structures American steel roofing was used. Its manifest superiority to fragile tile roofs and to the ponderous mud roofs hitherto in vogue throughout the Orient has now been recognized. The city hall at Harput is covered with American roofing, and a large school building now being erected is to have the same protection.

❀

With Lepers in Surinam The work of Father Damien in Hawaii, of Mary Reed in India, and of other self-devoting spirits elsewhere, has been inaugurated recently in Surinam, South America, among the victims of the living death of leprosy, who there are numbered by hundreds. The Dutch colonial government established an asylum for lepers in 1897, to which every leper found on the streets is consigned. Dreading this as an American dreads the poorhouse, the lepers rarely venture out-of-doors; but intercourse with them in their homes, where they support themselves by the sale of small commodities, is an evil still unrestricted. Near the Government asylum the combined Protestant churches of Surinam established in 1899 a leper settlement possessing the attractiveness of a Christian home and named "Bethesda" (the House of Mercy). Friends in Europe and America have given aid, and a tiny village of little houses, each accommodating two patients in separate rooms, is now full. A young married couple, the Rev. H. T. Weiss and wife, with two deaconesses, Sisters Philippina and Martha, have devoted themselves to this charge, dangerous but divine, and to the naturally repulsive but humane services it requires. Mr. Weiss, a clergyman of the Moravian Church, is now on a visit to this country to solicit aid for the expansion of this good work, still unprovided with some important requisites. His mission is officially indorsed. He will be glad to send his printed story of Bethesda, and all desired information, to any who address him at 225 West Twenty-third Street, New York.

❀

A Correction A Southern correspondent informs us that the Georgia Legislature still meets annually and that the child labor bill defeated at the recent session will be presented again at the next session in June, with the prospect of commanding greater strength. It is the kind of a bill that grows stronger every time it is "killed."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tammany Outdone in Minneapolis

The shocking revelations of police complicity with vice have so uniformly exposed conditions in some great metropolis that people in our smaller cities have naturally come to think of their own municipal virtue with a snug and smug complacency unwarranted by the facts, and peculiarly benumbing to the public conscience. It is true that public plunder on a vast scale may more readily be organized in a great city without public knowledge, and that it is more difficult there for a few public-spirited citizens to accomplish its overthrow; but there is no difference whatever in the kind of temptations to which public officials are exposed, and no difference whatever in the need of eternal vigilance on the part of the public to preserve municipal purity. The problem of municipal corruption is the same in Newark as in New York, the same in Harrisburg as in Philadelphia, the same in Minneapolis as in Chicago. This last proposition at least is now indisputable, for Mr. Lincoln Steffens's article on "The Shame of Minneapolis" in the January "McClure's" exposes a brazenness of municipal corruption not equaled in Chicago or even in New York during the past quarter of a century.

In the fall elections of 1900 Dr. Albert Alonzo Ames was nominated as the Republican candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis at the direct primaries. The responsibility for his nomination, therefore, cannot be lifted from the ordinary voter and saddled upon a corrupt political machine. His loose private character was known at the time of his nomination. He came of good Puritan stock. His father—also a physician—was one of the pioneers of Minneapolis, and Dr. Ames himself was a man of great professional skill, who from the first had one supreme virtue of a political leader—genuine kindness toward the poor. But, along with this attractive quality, he was from his young manhood sensuously self-indulgent, and as years advanced this characteristic grew upon him, and he not only made friends of the poor by his generosity, but friends of the corrupt by moral affinity. Entering politics early, he was elected Mayor of Minneapolis as a Republican. Changing his politics, he was at intervals twice elected to the same position as a Democrat, and changing his politics again a few years ago, he was, as stated, nominated in 1900 as a Republican. At the primaries which nominated him voters of either party could vote either ticket without challenge, and Dr. Ames is believed to have received the votes of a great many Democrats who did not take their party allegiance seriously. In the campaign which followed hundreds of Republicans who were disgusted with his nomination acquiesced in his election because it was a Presidential year.

During Dr. Ames's previous administrations he had not been especially venal. "He was a 'spender,' not a 'grafter,'" and his personal dependents seem to have monopolized the spoils which the wide-open city furnished. At the very beginning of his fourth term, however, he set out to organize the licensing of vice for his own enrichment. He made his brother, Colonel Fred W. Ames, a discredited officer from the Philippines, his chief of police. He made Norman W. King, a former gambler, his chief of detectives. The collector for women of the town was to be Irwin A. Gardner, a medical student in Dr. Ames's office, who was made a special policeman for the purpose. "These men looked over the force, selected those men who could be trusted, charged them a price for their retention, and marked for dismissal 107 men out of 225, the 107 being the best policemen in the department from the point of view of the citizens who afterwards reorganized the force." The carnival of corruption which followed is vividly depicted by Mr. Steffens, and a few of his strong lines will indicate the character of the picture:

> The administration opened with the revolution in the police force. They liberated the thieves in the local jail, and made known to the Under World generally that "things were doing" in Minneapolis. The incoming swindlers reported to King or his staff for instructions and went to work, turning the "swag" over to the detectives in charge. Gambling went on openly and disorderly houses multiplied under the fostering care of Gardner, the medical student. . . . [Even before this] disorderly houses were practically licensed by the city, the women appearing before the clerk of the Municipal Court each month to pay a "fine" of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$100. Unable at first to get this "graft," Ames's man Gardner persuaded women to start houses, apartments, and, of all things, candy-stores, which sold sweets to children and tobacco to the "lumber Jacks" in front, while a nefarious traffic was carried on in the rear. But they paid Ames, not the city. . . . But the money still paid direct to the city in fines, some $35,000 a year, fretted the Mayor, and at last he reached for it. He came out with a declaration, in his old character as friend of the oppressed, that $100 a month was too much for these women to pay. They should be required to pay the city fine only once in two months. This puzzled the town till it became generally known that Gardner collected the other month for the Mayor.

"In a general way," says Mr. Steffens, "all this business was known. It did not arouse citizens, but it did attract criminals, and more and more thieves and swindlers came hurrying to Minneapolis." When the whole orgy of profit-sharing with crime was finally exposed, it was shown that detectives were stationed at the doors of gambling-houses which swindled their clients, for the express purpose of scaring the victims if they threatened to complain, and, if possible, running them out of town in fear that they would be prosecuted. If the victims insisted upon taking their complaints to the Chief of Police, the Mayor's brother would first try to wear them out with long delays and then he too would attempt to browbeat them into silence. What this policy yielded to the administration is graphically presented to the eye by photographic excerpts from the ledger of one of the swindling concerns. The first entry in this ledger ran as follows:

ACCOUNTS NOVEMBER 18 TO 25

[*Expenditures.*]		[*Receipts.*]	
Nov. 18. Mayor Ames....	$500.00	Monday.....	$533.00
Gardner.....	50.00	Tuesday.....	269.00
[Detective] Norbeck	50.00	Wednesday..	622.00
Chief Ames.....	20.00	Thursday....	575.00
Wood.....	1.00	Friday	321.00
Kerosene Oil....	.25	Saturday....	352.00
Orrin.....	25.00	Sunday.....	45.00
Nut of Joint.....	$646.25		$2,718.00
		45% Steerers Bid.....	$1,123.10
		Bal. Joint...	$1,494.90
			$646.25
		Bal. to Crd...	$848.65

Some members of the police force did not stop at direct participation in robberies, one police captain having stood guard while a safe was robbed by confederates.

The final breakdown of the conspiracy came from dissensions within. As plunder increased greed increased, different conspirators began to rob one another, and the whole situation became chaotic. The conspirators held together well enough to secure the dismissal from office of a county sheriff who attempted to restrain their excesses, but soon the honor necessary to successful thievery failed, and the different conspirators failed to protect one another's protégés. At this juncture a grand jury was drawn in the ordinary way, one of whose members, Hovey C. Clarke, was a man of extraordinary force of character. Mr. Clarke was made foreman of the jury, and, finding that some of his associates would support him, he determined to overthrow the whole syndicate of corruptionists in control of the city. The determined jurors went to the jail and saw two bunco-steerers who had not received the expected protection and were nursing their grievances against the officials who had failed them. One of these men afterwards stated that he was persuaded to turn State's evidence because he "sized up" Clarke as a man who was bound to keep up his fight till he won. "We," he said, meaning criminals generally, "are always stacking up against juries and lawyers who want us to holler. We don't because we see they are quitters. They can be pulled off." Clarke and his associates could not be "pulled off," though Clarke was offered $28,000 to quit, and his life seemed to be in danger from the wrath of the criminal elements. "What startled the jury most, however," says Mr. Steffens, "was the character of the citizens who were sent to dissuade them from their course. No reform I have studied has failed to bring out this phenomenon of virtuous cowardice." In three weeks the jury was able, by means of hard personal work and heavy personal expenditures, to collect enough evidence to bring in indictments, and, with some difficulty, the assistant public prosecutor was persuaded to institute proceedings. The Grand Jury paid the cost of bringing witnesses from as far as Idaho. First Gardner was tried and convicted, then Captain Norbeck of the detectives, then Fred Ames, and then Chief of Detectives King. As conviction followed conviction and one piece of evidence supplemented another, a panic spread among the conspirators. Among those who fled were two heads of departments against

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whom nothing had been shown or discovered until their flight revealed another source of "graft" in the sale of supplies to public institutions, and the diversion of provisions to the private residences of officials. Mayor Ames, under indictment and heavy bonds, fled from the State on a night train. By this time it was evident that the side of the prosecution was the side of victory, and men who had feared to act before were now eager to take part in driving out the last vestiges of the overthrown régime. In a few months a decent government was established, and Minneapolis had an unforgetable lesson not only in the appalling possibilities of municipal corruption at the hands of a few public plunderers, but in the inspiring possibilities of municipal regeneration at the hands of a few determined men of dauntless public spirit.

Mr. Steffens's stirring story should be read everywhere, for it strikes at the very heart of both of the twin stupidities which dull the conscience of American municipalities—the optimism which says that all is so good that nothing need be done, and the pessimism which says that all is so bad that nothing can be done.

❀

The Practical Test

What shall a Christian believer say to one who apparently denies the very foundation of Christian faith by altogether denying the existence of spirit; who insists that only matter and force exist, that there is but one kind of force, that the difference between the force generated by an electric battery and that generated by the brain of a Shakespeare is a difference only in quality and result, not in essence, that as the electric power ceases when the battery decays, so the mental power ceases when the brain decays, that as there can be no music without an instrument, so there can be no spiritual life except as it is connected with and produced by the body? This question in various forms is often asked—has been often asked of The Outlook.

The reply to this question is to be found in the principle that the test of any theory, whether in philosophy or in science, is simply this: Can the theory be practically applied in the conduct of life? This test is thus stated by Professor James in "The Varieties of Religious Experience." After quoting at some length from Sir Henry Maudsley, one of the ablest representatives of materialistic philosophy, he adds: "In other words, not its origin, but *the way in which it works on the whole*, is Dr. Maudsley's final test of a belief. This is our own empirical criterion; and this criterion the stoutest insisters on supernatural origin have also been forced to use in the end." The italics are those of Professor James. Using this test, how does the theory that mental force and physical force are identical work when applied to the conduct of life?

There are in philosophy two contrasted skeptical theories: one, that there is no matter, all is mind; the other, that there is no mind, all is matter. It is not easy to refute either by pure reason; but neither works well in actual life. How do we know that matter exists? We see it and touch it? But this only means that certain sensations take place in us which we attribute to external causes. How do we know that they are due to external causes? How do we know that we are not dreaming, that matter is anything more than a phantasmagoria, a succession of mental images, a series of pure imaginings? How does the materialist know that there is an electric battery? How does he know that there is a brain? The answer is that we have to live as though matter existed. This is the practical answer, and it is all-sufficient. If I think I am cold, the coldness may be only a "mortal thought;" but I shall continue to think cold, until I can think coal and put it on what I think is a fire. The answer, and the only answer, so far as we can see, to pure idealism is that it does not work well; whether matter exists or not, we have to act as though it exists.

Similarly, How do we know that mind exists? We reason, feel, resolve; but how do we know that reasoning, feeling, resolving, are anything more than a phase of physical energy, a more subtle form of electricity, a material force generated by the brain? How do we know but that the statement of one of the older materialists is true, and that "the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile"? The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

answer to this question is the same as the answer to the other. The theory of materialism does not work well. We cannot apply it to the conduct of life. As we have to act as though there were matter, so also we have to act as though there were mind. Physical forces are not subject to moral judgments; we do not condemn gravitation as guilty of wrong-doing. Spiritual forces are subject to moral judgments; we do condemn spiritual forces as guilty of wrong-doing. If a paper-weight falls off the desk and hits you on the knee, you do not think the desk, paper-weight, or gravitation deserving of condemnation; if a man throws a stone and hits you on the knee, you do think the man worthy of condemnation. Society could not go on except upon the assumption that man is a free moral agent; that his acts are not the necessary sequence of purely physical conditions; that he deserves praise for some actions and blame for others. Except on this assumption there could be neither government nor public opinion, neither good morals nor good manners. Civilization is based on the hypothesis that matter exists; it could not go on upon any other hypothesis. Society is based upon the hypothesis that mind exists; it could not go on upon any other hypothesis. So long as a man acts as though there were matter, and as though there were mind, society does not care what theories he broods in his study. But when a man acts as though matter had no real existence, we call him crazy. If he attempts to put his theories into practice, he is liable to be sent to the insane asylum. If he acts as though mind did not exist, and ignores all moral responsibility for his action, we call him immoral, and he is liable to be sent to the penitentiary. Neither pure idealism nor pure materialism works. Life repudiates them both.

We do not think there is much use in arguing with either the idealistic skeptic or the materialistic skeptic. We never knew of much progress made in such argument. It is best to let him play with his pet doll before the study fire as much as he likes. It is certainly not a living child, and cannot go out by itself and enter into the tussles of actual life. To the idealistic skeptic we should simply say, Whether there is matter or not, you would better act as though matter is real, or you will very soon come to grief. To the materialistic skeptic we should say, If it be true that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile, you would better see to it that your brain secretes the right kind of thought if you wish to enjoy the esteem of your fellow-men. If what we call the life of the soul is inseparably bound up with the body, and ends when the body ends, still let us make that life high, pure, true, noble. Religion is *life;* and to all philosophical skepticism, whether of the pure idealist or the pure materialist, our reply would be, Let us *live* as though life were real, life were earnest. It is not by the theories which we brood in our studies that we are to be tested, but by the life we live in the world of men.

❀

The Gifts of Millionaires

The daily papers report simultaneously two addresses, one by John A. Hobson, the English economist, delivered in Philadelphia, the other by Professor John Bascom, of Williams College, delivered in Chicago. Both, if they are correctly reported, maintain as a principle that educational, philanthropic, and religious institutions should refuse to receive gifts from donors whose money, in the judgment of the trustees, or perhaps we should say in the judgment of the general public, has been obtained by unrighteous methods. We quote from the newspaper reports a few sentences to indicate the principle implied or affirmed. Thus, from the report of Mr. Hobson's address: "Is society to be saved by the millionaires? The fact that they give us great gifts should not keep us from tracing the origin of their wealth. . . . Is it safe to take money so gained [*i.e.*, by unrighteous methods] and spend it for public purposes at the wish of the millionaire?" The answer that Mr. Hobson evidently expects to this question Professor Bascom gives: "John D. Rockefeller's dollars have sealed the lips of every instructor at the University of Chicago. . . . In the East it is considered necessary to teach political economy and sociology in any large institution of learning. How are professors at the Chicago University to do this? They have accepted this man's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

money, and in fairness to him and themselves they must not tell the young men and women who come to their school how their benefactor gained his dollars. . . . There are men at this university who are being prepared to fill pulpits and teach the law of God. They should know of the business immorality which exists. Can they be taught that at the University of Chicago? Dr. Harper can say nothing uncomplimentary about the manner in which Rockefeller gained his dollars. He would cease to be a gentleman if he did."

Whether these reports accurately represent Mr. Hobson and Professor Bascom it is not important for us to determine. They represent accurately enough for our purpose a principle which is specious but, we believe, thoroughly unsound: the principle enunciated in the report of Mr. Hobson's address, namely, that it is the duty of those to whom wealth is offered for use in public service to trace the origin of the wealth, and to decline it if, in their opinion, it has been acquired by unrighteous methods. In our judgment, the trustees of religious, philanthropic, and educational institutions have no such duty; and no such consequences result from a failure to perform this impracticable task as is more than intimated in the report of Professor Bascom's address.

Before such a principle is accepted it must be thought out to its logical consequences. If the trustees of a hospital or college or church are to trace to its origin wealth offered for the public service, and to refuse such wealth as in their judgment has been unrighteously acquired, they must first of all establish a standard of business morality by which to test the commercial transactions of the proposed benefactor. The prohibitionist trustee who holds that it is wrong to make money by selling beer will refuse Matthew Vassar's money for the founding of Vassar College. A more radical temperance companion will refuse money from the hop-grower, because hops are used chiefly for beer. The Sabbatarian will vote against receiving money from a railroad millionaire if the railroad has been operated on Sunday. The vegetarian will decline money from Mr. Armour, because it is wrong to destroy animal life for food. Mr. Hobson classed Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller together; Professor Bascom is reported as saying that "it would be all right to accept Mr. Carnegie's money," but all wrong to accept Mr. Rockefeller's. Who shall decide? Are the board of trustees by a majority vote to settle a standard of ethics by which past business transactions are to be judged? And when they have decided upon a standard, how shall they decide as to the transactions? Are they to constitute themselves into a court to investigate the method by which Mr. Carnegie made the wealth offered to the library, and Mr. Rockefeller the money offered to the university, and Mr. Vanderbilt the money offered to the hospital, and Mr. Drexel the money offered to the institute? They cannot presume a man guilty because he is wealthy. Surely they cannot condemn him without investigation on common report. If they are to condemn him at all, they must give him a hearing in his own defense. This would be a curious result: that whenever money is offered to a board of trustees they must, before accepting it, put the donor on trial to see whether he acquired it righteously or not. And yet this is what they must do, if it is their duty to trace wealth to its origin before accepting it for public uses. And the inquisition must be a discriminating one. They must determine what proportion of the wealth has been acquired by righteous and what proportion by unrighteous methods. Does any unrighteousness vitiate the whole? Then there can be very few donations received. If not, what proportion of unrighteousness is required to make rejection of the donation a public duty?

It is quite impracticable for trustees to undertake any such inquisitorial function as this principle would lay upon them; but if they were able to perform it, and in the performance of it found that all the money was acquired by methods wholly immoral, this would of itself constitute no adequate reason for refusing to accept the money in trust for the public. Let us suppose the clearest of cases. A man has made his money as a professional gambler. Now that he has it, he desires to give it to the public. What better use can he put it to? He cannot ordinarily search out the men whose money he has won and return it to them. If he converts it into

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government notes and bonds, and burns them up, he gives it to the Government. If he leaves it to his children, is it more moral for them to take it for personal uses than for a board of trustees to take it for public uses? Was Christ wrong when he suffered the woman that was a sinner to anoint his feet with ointment which it is quite certain she had bought with the wages of her sin? Ordinarily the best thing a sinner can do with his ill-earned wealth is to give it to the community; the fact that it is ill earned is no reason why it should not be devoted to the public service. It is rather an added reason why it should be so devoted. We are not here concerned with the question whether Mr. Rockfeller and Mr. Carnegie have earned their wealth by righteous or unrighteous methods, or part of it by righteous and part of it by unrighteous methods. We simply affirm that, first, it is not the business of boards of trustees to determine whether wealth offered for public use has been righteously or unrighteously earned; and, second, if it has been earned by unrighteous methods, the best thing that the owner can do with it is to give it to the public, save in the very rare cases in which it is practicable to return it to the original owners.

The supposed principle that trustees should trace to its source wealth which they receive for public uses rests on the false presumption that if wealth acquired by unrighteous means is accepted for public use it cannot be freely used for the public by those who have accepted it. The report before us does not indicate that Professor Bascom gave any reasons for believing as matter of fact that the lips of the professors in the Chicago University, or those of the graduates of its theological school, are sealed. Apparently this conclusion is based, not upon any evidence that the first do not teach and the second do not preach freely, but upon the assumption that they cannot honorably do so. In truth, they cannot honorably do anything else. It is not, indeed, the function of a professor of economics, whether in the Chicago University or in Williams College, to decide and teach whether Mr. Rockefeller personally made his money by ethical or unethical methods; that is a question for the courts of justice. But in so far as those methods are matters of public history, they are as proper subjects for economic and ethical teaching in Chicago University as in Williams College. The graduate of Chicago Theological Seminary is morally as free to condemn dishonest and despotic methods in business as the graduate of Union or of Princeton, and is as much under obligation to do so. There is no condition implied in the acceptance of an unconditioned gift for public uses except that it shall be used for the public by the institution to which it is given. If a liquor-dealer desires to take a high-priced pew in a church, shall the trustees refuse to rent it to him lest the minister be afraid to preach on temperance? This would be to insult the minister. If a railroad desires to advertise in a newspaper, shall the manager refuse to take the advertisement lest the editor fear to demand governmental regulation of railroads? This would be to insult the editor. A professor who should refuse to condemn the violation of economic and ethical laws because some patron of the university is publicly reported to have violated those laws would be grossly unfit for his chair. A preacher who should refuse to condemn dishonesties in business because some of his pewholders are reported to be guilty of such dishonesties ought to be drummed out of the pulpit to the tune of the rogue's march. We do not believe that there is any such cowardice in the pulpits and the professors' chairs as the report of Professor Bascom's address implies. But in so far as there is any such cowardice, the remedy is not to be found in laying upon boards of trustees the wholly impracticable task of tracing wealth to its source for the purpose of ascertaining how far it has been righteously accumulated, but in inspiring the hearts of teachers, preachers, and editors —and the editors need it quite as much as the teachers and preachers—with a loyalty to truth and a courage of conviction which will make them never consider the question where the money comes from which endows their chairs, furnishes their pew-rents, or supplies the pecuniary resources of their journals.

If property is offered to a board of trustees which does not belong to the donor and which can be returned to its lawful owner, they are not to accept it;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not because it was unlawfully acquired, but because it is unlawfully retained. If conditions are attached to the gift inconsistent with its free use in the sense to which it is nominally dedicated, it is to be promptly declined. If there is a reasonable suspicion that conditions exist in the mind of the donor which are not expressed, there may be occasions on which it would be legitimate for the board of trustees to avoid misunderstanding by some explicit statement. But it is not their function to trace proffered endowments to their source, nor to put the donor on trial, still less to condemn him on public report without a hearing. They will not raise the ethical standards in the community, nor in the institution under their charge, by imputing unworthy motives to a benefaction apparently worthy in itself, nor by attaching on suspicion dishonorable conditions to a gift which is in its terms free from conditions. On the contrary, they will best serve the highest ethical ends by assuming, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that all gifts are intrusted to them to use for the public benefit in accordance with their trust and with no other obligations than that trust implies, and by taking it for granted, if they are the trustees of an educational institution, that the teachers will be loyal to their own consciences and to the truth, without regard to the sources, real or supposed, from which the endowment of the institution is derived.

The Impressions of a Careless Traveler

IV.

March 30.

THE event of to-day was going to church. The only Sunday service which the Prinzessin arranges for the passengers is an early matin; we are awakened on Sunday morning by the band playing "Eine Feste Burg." That ends the religious services for the day, which then goes on exactly as do other days, except that the passengers do not get out shuffleboard and ring-toss, nor do I see the cards out in the smoking-room on Sunday evening. The first Sunday out, a service was announced, but it had to be abandoned; the weather was prohibitive. The second Sunday there was a simple service in the Social Hall; but as half the passengers were German and could not understand English, and half were American and could not understand German, and there were neither prayer-books nor hymn-books on board, the service limped. I think the Hamburg-American line, which seems to spare no expense in providing comforts and even luxuries for its passengers, might well recognize the fact that there are a goodly number of ocean travelers who enjoy a Sunday service, and might provide service-books so that passengers could arrange for a service if they wished to do so. The Directors may not care for Sunday services themselves, but then I do not suppose they all play shuffleboard and ring-toss, yet the material is provided for those who do. We all drove over to Nice and then separated. B—— and H——started for the Roman Catholic Cathedral on account of the music of Easter Sunday, found it too crowded, and finally went to a Russo-Greek church. The Matron and I went to the English Church, where the service began with the Lord's Prayer—the Invitation to Prayer, the General Confession, and the Absolution being omitted. I wonder why. Is Absolution taken for granted on Easter Sunday? Being a Puritan, to me all Sundays are Easter Sundays. After service we met and took our luncheon at a café-confectionery-baker-restaurant combination, where a delicious meal was served to us at a cost, including the tip to the waiter, of $2.11—that is, fifty-three cents apiece. The French do understand the art of giving delicious meals at small prices—an art not yet acquired in America, where "cheap and nasty" are terms almost inseparably connected in restaurants.

Then we took a carriage and drove over the hills to Villefranche. By the shore road the distance is about five miles; by the Cornichi road, which we took, the drive was at least double that distance. We climbed a thousand or twelve hundred feet by one zigzag road to the top of a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hill, and drove down a thousand or twelve hundred feet by another zigzag to our landing-stage. B—— engaged in conversation with our driver, asking him all manner of questions, at our suggestion, as to places, trees, fruits, flowers, etc., and he stopped and gathered some olives that hung over the road and gave them to the ladies of our party. B——'s knowledge of French is but slight, and she laughed over her own linguistic blunders; but the driver was immensely pleased at being taken, as it were, into our party; he gave us a most cordial "Bon voyage" when we left him, and even when our rowboat was a considerable distance from the landing-stage we could see him standing up in his carriage and waving his hat in adieus to us. As I am making this entry I hear the Cook party coming on board after their excursion to Nice and Monte Carlo. In half an hour we weigh anchor and set sail—except that we have no sails—for Palermo.

April 1.

Palermo is the first natural harbor we have seen since we left New York, and Palermo would not be a very safe harbor were its natural protection not improved by great breakwaters. At Madeira, Gibraltar, and Villefranche we anchored in what were practically open roadsteads, and the harbor at Genoa was almost wholly artificial. We are attached by hawsers to a wharf at one side of the harbor, but five or ten feet from the shore, and are carried a mile or a mile and a half in small boats to a landing on the other side of the harbor—why, I do not know. I am told that on her first excursion the Prinzessin undertook to land her passengers in her own steam launch and lifeboats, but met with so much opposition from the local boatmen that she abandoned the attempt in the Mediterranean Sea, and left the local boatmen to carry the passengers to and from shore. I am glad of it. Their income must be poor and uncertain at the best; and it is worth the quarter of a dollar to be greeted by them with smiles and not with curses. Before leaving New York I had looked up Palermo and laid out a day's excursion. It perhaps confirms the practical wisdom of the selection for the day that I hit upon the same route which Cook's agent had laid out for his party; but the result was that we met them wherever we went. In our tour about the city we were half the time in the Cook procession; we came into the church or the palace to find them there, or they came in to find us there, as the case might be; in short, we were, in spite of ourselves, Cookies, as H—— irreverently calls them. On one or two occasions I had to explain to the doorkeepers as best I could—not knowing Italian—that I did not belong with them, and had my own separate fee to pay for our party. I may record here the fact that I have kept a careful cash account of the expenses of our shore excursions at Madeira, Gibraltar, Genoa, Nice, Monte Carlo, and Palermo, and find that we have had substantially what Cook has given to his parties, and have paid about ten per cent. less. Ten per cent. seems to me a small sum to pay Cook for taking off from one all the care and worry of a shore excursion—that is, from those to whom it is a care and worry.

I am sorry to have had only a day and a half at Palermo; I should like to stay here for a month. The busy harbor, full of small craft, the opportunities for boating, the environing hills—grass-covered to their summit where they are not absolutely precipitous; the curious life in the streets, with something at every turn to attract the eye—peasant costumes, pannier-laden donkeys, donkey-carts carrying six or eight passengers, with one small patient donkey tugging at the load, the attractive shops, the countrymen with their rural wares; the abundant flowers and fruits, especially the orange-trees laden with oranges rich in color, fragrant, appetizing; the soft climate, soft but not enervating; the warm, cool air (contradiction, but a harmony in reality) which caresses and at the same time invigorates; the excellent hotels, if I may judge from my experience last evening in one of them where we took dinner with a friend who is staying here; the many excursions in the vicinity from half a day to two or three days in extent, all combine to make Palermo seem like an ideal resting-place. The ride along the seashore, the public gardens, where the gardener was so taken with the Matron's interest in certain flowers that he made her up a bouquet and presented it to her; the Palazzo Reale, with its chapel, in beauty second only to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Sainte Chapelle in Paris; the ruined cloisters overgrown with vines and wild flowers; the uninteresting cathedral—it is enough merely to catalogue these here; if I ever wish to recall them, Baedeker will do the rest. A funny experience at luncheon illustrated the disadvantage of not knowing the language of the country. When luncheon was over, I called for my bill. As the courteous waiter started off, B—— surmised from my extemporized French that he was really going for a glass of beer! But the waiter never smiled when the error was explained to him. I cannot say as much for the self-restraint of the others of our party.

The most interesting object in Palermo —was not in Palermo at all. It is the monastery and church at Monreale, a mountain or rather hill perhaps a thousand feet above the sea, and a few miles back from the harbor of Palermo. This monastery and church covers the summit of the hill, and round it clusters a poor little village, all of whose inhabitants, I should say, could be put into the church at any one service, and then twice as many more without overcrowding it. The most striking feature of this church is furnished by the mosaics, which afford a striking illustration of the incongruous literalism of Scripture interpretations which prevailed in the Middle Ages. These mosaics are intended to give to the worshipers scenes from both Old Testament and New Testament history. Here is Noah's carpenter sawing the boards for the ark with what is very like a modern saw; here Jacob's angels are seen descending a very short ladder—one wonders why they did not jump, they certainly would not have required their wings—while the Father looks down upon them and upon the sleeping Jacob through an open window. I suppose they are very beautiful; they are certainly very wonderful; but they are not at all credible. It is difficult for a radical Protestant like myself to get, and almost impossible for him to keep, the point of view of a mediæval Christian. Why was this church built here on this hill-top? Why did these monks gather in this monastery to do nothing all day long but say their prayers, walk in these cloisters, cultivate the fruits and flowers in this garden, which, I suppose, in those times few but themselves were permitted to see, and look off over those ramparts at the wonderful view—the ravine below inclosed by mountain walls tapestried with grass and flowers, the plain beyond rich with grass and fruits, still further the city, the murmur of whose ceaseless industry they could easily imagine if they could not hear, and yet beyond the city the sea with its boundless horizon and its treasures of infinite life—all these uniting to call them to come out from imprisonment and idleness to liberty and toil—the sea calling them to life and liberty, the city and the plain to profitable industry, the fruits and the flowers to the glad enjoyment of the good Father's gifts, the mountains to the worship of God in the temple not made with hands. How could they look unmoved upon all this and go back to their bare cells and their vacant life and their routine of ritual? I suppose this is inexplicable to a Protestant, because Protestantism instinctively measures the instruments of religion by their capacity to benefit man, mediæval religion by their capacity to express reverence to God. The Puritans' church was a "meeting-house" constructed and employed for the instruction of an audience; the mediæval cathedral was a monument reared as a memorial to the Almighty. The motive of the former might have been *Ad beneficium humanitatis;* the motive of the latter was *Ad gloriam Dei.* The cathedral was no more built to benefit the worshipers who gathered under its roof than the monument in the cemetery is built for the benefit of the one whose body lies beneath it. This church was put on the hill where all might see the glorious monument which reverence had reared to God, and the monks offered their orisons as a tribute to their King. That the best way to render acceptable service to God is by rendering useful service to his children probably never entered their heads. Something such were the thoughts which came to me as I sat there in the church and afterward walked in the cloisters at Monreale. Perhaps we Puritans have reacted too far from the sacerdotalism of mediævalism and need to retrace our steps. Perhaps there is something in this monumental piety which we need to incorporate in our humanitarian religion. I must think more of this. L. A.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Mosely Commission

A Study of American Workmen by British Workmen

By George Lynch

Special Correspondent of the London "Daily Express," Author of "The War of the Civilizations," "Impressions of a War Correspondent," etc.

THE tour of inquiry into industrial methods and conditions in the United States which has just been concluded by twenty-three of the members of Mr. Mosely's Commission has been very interesting. In England we had been feeling the effects of New World competition in many ways—tobacco and beef trust ways, tube ways, bridge-building ways, ocean ways; in every branch of commerce the competition of the United States was being felt. In the great world struggle for trade we are hard pressed, if we are not, as you say here, beaten back into second place, and a bad second at that. The facts were well worth ascertaining. The elephantine aid of a Parliamentary commission might be instinctively sought by Britishers, but the importance of the subject asked for something more practical, immediate, and businesslike. So thought Mr. Mosely as he paced the paths of his old-fashioned fruit and flower garden, one of the most beautiful in England, punctuating his walks by prodding with the point of his stick at his enemies the wasps, who were feeding on his luscious peaches and nectarines that embroidered with fruit-beads the sunny walls. He had made his money in diamond dealing in Kimberley—had made enough and had enough to spare for doing something in the world, when occasion should offer. He saw opportunity when war broke out in South Africa. He erected a hospital in Natal, equipped it, and presented it through Princess Christian to the British forces in the field. There are various opinions about these South African Uitlanders who have made their pile out of diamond or gold mines, but some of them, like Beit and Mosely, have commanded admiration by their philanthropic generosity. The Jews are not a fighting race; if they do not shed their blood, it is nice to see them shed their gold for the service of the country under whose flag they have made it. Mosely having made it under our flag, with the keen business instinct of his race, did his part in the commercial struggle as he did before in the blood-spilling struggle. He brought a hospital to the wounded in war—he now sends a commission to the strugglers in the commercial fight. There was a considerable amount of difficulty in deciding as to who would be the best to constitute the commission. He eventually settled on asking twenty-three secretaries of the leading trades-unions. There were many advantages about asking the secretaries of the unions. If a selection had to be made from among the ordinary members, there might have been a certain amount of invidious feeling among their fellows in the giving of them a free trip to America with all expenses paid for about three months. Then, on the return of the commission, the secretaries of the various unions are in a better position than any one else to impart the results, and communicate throughout their unions the conclusions they have arrived at.

I must say I was greatly struck, coming over on the steamer, with the broadmindedness of the members I traveled with. I was prepared to find them rather predisposed in favor of British methods and hidebound with insular prejudice, but, on the contrary, found them approaching the task before them with absolutely open minds. They seemed prepared to look at everything impartially, and prepared to learn all that was possible in the time. Mr. Mosely and the delegates made a circular tour, in which they were afforded every opportunity for visiting and inspecting some of the largest manufactories in the United States. Starting from New York, they visited the American Locomotive Works at Schenectady, the works of the General Electric Company, and the power-house at Niagara; they were the guests of the Industries Federation at Buffalo, saw the iron and steel works at Cleveland, the packing-houses in Chicago, the Carnegie

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Steel Works at Pittsburg, the Cramp Works and the Baldwin Locomotive Works at Philadelphia, the Patent Office and the President at Washington. It may be thought surprising that the owners of these various works were willing to show them to this body of inquisitive strangers, yet in only one instance was permission refused to inspect a factory. If a similar body of Americans had gone on a like quest through Great Britain or the Continent, I don't think everything would have been thrown open to them as it was done here. It speaks volumes for the supreme confidence of the Americans in themselves that they took the attitude expressed by one of them to me in the words, "See all you like and welcome, and beat us if you can."

Each delegate had been supplied by Mr. Mosely with a list of questions to be answered, which form an excellent guide for their investigations. The delegates showed great diligence and industry at their task; they worked hard and compiled voluminous note-books recording their observations, and so much were the note-books in evidence that at one factory—the Carnegie Steel Works, I think it was—those who were conducting them around "kicked," and the note-books had to be shut up. The questions the delegates had to study were divided into: (*a*) Early training of the workers; (*b*) General condition of workers outside the factory; (*c*) Relations between employers and employed; (*d*) General questions which relate mainly to the working of the Civic Federation of the United States, and the desirability of establishing such an organization in England. Many of the questions are beset with difficulty, while the answers to others stand out with obvious clearness, and a month in the country would give the answer as well as a year. This applies to many of the questions under section (*b*); for instance, take question 32: "Is the American workingman more sober than the British?" Without going into the question of actual sobriety, it is unquestionably clear that the American drinks less than the British workman. In some factories visited by delegates in the course of their circular tour, beer or spirits are absolutely forbidden up to the conclusion of working hours; where that rule is not put in force, men very seldom drink beer at their midday meal. Coffee is the usual beverage. Then I have spoken to numbers of employers on the subject of men being late at work on Monday mornings, as is so much the case in towns like Northampton, England, where there is practically no work done on Mondays, and even on Tuesday morning the men do not appear to have recovered from the effects of the holiday. Such a thing would not be tolerated in the States; the regulations appear everywhere the same—a strict record is kept, wages are docked if men are late, but that does not mean that they are allowed to make a practice of coming late. This is not tolerated. A repetition of these offenses and dismissal follows. "We won't keep men who drink or who come late as the result of it—that's all there is to it," were the words of one of them. When we come to look at statistics, we find that what has been impressed and borne in on us so forcibly by what must necessarily be rather cursory observation is borne out by figures. The British workman drinks just twice as much as the American. Per head of the population the consumption is as follows:

	United Kingdom. English Gallons.	United States. English Gallons.
Beer	30.60	12.60
Spirits	1.00	.93
Wine	.39	.28
Absolute Alcohol	2.08	1.00

I have taken the alcoholic strength of wine at 15 for both countries, and the strength of beer at 4 for the United States and 5 for the United Kingdom. Represented in money, we spend annually more on drink than in the United States—£58,500,000 more on beer alone.

"I guess you put a brake on your progress with your beer," was a remark I heard the other day. Several large employers I spoke to were emphatic in their opinion that beer was bad to work on. They think that it is heavy and acts as a sedative; dulls rather than stimulates. One would think that to the bracing air of this country it would be even more suitable than in England. One often speculates whether a sedative would not be of advantage to some of these feverish workers, especially in New York, this "City of Unrest." Whatever difference of opinion there may be regarding answers to some of the other questions, there can be none to this, as to whether the American or

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British workman drinks the most. We are not concerned here with what might be done with the sixty-six millions if we were to reduce our drink bill to that of the Americans, which would enable us, for instance, to establish a fund for old-age pensions, together with paying off the national debt in about eighteen years; but in the comparison of the working power of these two competitors we are concerned in considering whether the one, as the American put it, is not handicapping himself, or putting a brake on his progress, with this load of beer.

One of the points on which the delegates of the Mosely Commission are unanimous is as to the advisability of our having an organization established in England similar to the Civic Federation, and they will recommend the various unions they represent to take steps to carry out that object. There are few of the other forty-one questions set for them to answer on which they will all agree; there are some that it will be almost impossible to answer. "Is it true that the average life of the American workman is shorter than that of the English workman?" Connected with this question there are others, as to whether the American does a larger amount of work in early manhood, but deteriorates young, thus shortening his working years, and is thrown out of work at an early age. To get at the facts regarding the average life of the workman here, I consulted some of the actuaries of the leading life insurance offices, among others Mr. Emory McClintock, of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. He very kindly placed all the available figures at my disposal, but admitted that there were none which would exactly answer my question. An investigation is now being made by a number of insurance offices acting together, in which the various trades and occupations are being classified, but the results will not be totaled up until next June. If this were published, it would be a help to answering the question accurately, but at present a final answer is not obtainable. The opinion of an authority such as Mr. McClintock should carry weight, however. He is clearly and emphatically of opinion that the average American workman lives longer than the English, and in this he was supported by the others I spoke to on the subject. Similarly accurate or conclusive answers can hardly be obtained on the other questions as to whether the American is thrown out of employment at an earlier age. There is perhaps even a still greater objection on the part of American employers to take on men advanced in years than there is in England.

At the same time observant visitors here, not excluding these Mosely delegates, fail to recognize the fact that many of the men engaged in arduous employments after a few years take up other employments less arduous. The puddlers of Pittsburg, for instance, never remain long at their very highly paid but extremely severe work. After from three to five years of it they go off with their savings to a more easy occupation, and thus the impression is given that the men get superannuated at an early period. From the lowest to the highest, men change their occupations with more facility here than in England. The workingmen who strain their vitality to the utmost at high pressure at highly paid employments frequently retire to the cultivation of a small farm, or to occupations in which their acquired skill is applied to making some labor-saving machine do the hard work for them. How often during this pilgrimage have I heard the delegates say that the men do not really work harder here than in England! Here they are often human attachments to machines; they press the button, the machine does the rest; they have just to see that the well-lubricated machine does the work smoothly, without stop or blunder or hitch. In many cases, instead of being the human handle of the machine, they would in England have been the working parts; the wear and tear would have come more directly on their muscles and nerves.

There was a considerable amount of difference of opinion among the delegates of the various unions as to the amount that was to be learned in America in their respective trades. The men connected with ship-building saw nothing to learn here, and went away satisfied with the superiority of the English ship-building yards. The representative of the bricklayers said that the American bricklayer laid more bricks in a given time, but that the American style of work would not be tolerated in England. The walls are so thin

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that they would be condemned as unsafe in England, and the bricks are laid parallel to each other with mortar between instead of being locked together as in England. British architects insist that they must overlap in every layer. The flimsier work of the American naturally does not take as much time. English employers could not expect us, it was pointed out, to get an equal amount done when the work was much more complicated. The payment in the two countries worked out on the average to show that the American got as much for two and a half days' work as the British for a week. The representatives of several other trades, however, were greatly struck with what they saw, notably with the appliances here in the way of labor-saving machines. "We have no machine like that; we do that by hand," were remarks one often heard when going around with them. In this country, where so many factories are of recent erection, it is not surprising that they should be filled with new machinery, but there were interesting scrap-heaps to be shown in many that the delegates visited which proved how quick the American manufacturer is to throw out anything that has been improved upon. The English manufacturer is much slower to move in this respect, and he is inclined to hold on to an antiquated machine as long as he can get any work out of it. There were some conclusions arrived at incidentally by the delegates, on which they formed very definite opinions, although they did not exactly come within the scope of the Commission. The representative of the plasterers, who is a member of the London County Council, thinks that England has nothing to learn from the States in the way of civic government. They all thought the telephone service of the large cities admirable in comparison to that in England, but formed a different opinion of the postal service, one of them experimenting by timing the delivery of letters which he posted in New York to himself, with results that showed the service in London to be immensely superior.

Taking in the whole situation, seeing what one can of the workmen at work, talking to these visiting workmen who are experts in their various trades, just a few great conclusions force themselves home on the mind through a throng of conflicting detail. The workman is very much the same man on either side of the Atlantic. His environment is what alters, stimulates, or retards his potentiality. There was a strange story told me the other day to the effect that the Westinghouse Company brought over a large number of American workmen to the factory they had opened in England, and that, after a short time, they found that the work of their imported men could be beaten by men taken from the neighborhood of the works; that the Englishman on his own ground, in fact, beat the imported American. These facts, told me as they were by Americans, appear to me very significant, but fall in with some of the conclusions that strike home as the lessons of this Commission. We do not take sufficient account of many factors in this great problem. First of all, the climate. Look at the quickening effect of this bracing atmosphere on the more lethargic peoples. Jules Verne wrote a book, "Dr. Ox's Experiment," I think it was called, which describes the galvanizing effect on a lazy German town of supplying oxygen through pipes to the inhabitants. After passing the statue of Liberty and landing at the Battery, every immigrant must experience something of the sort. A great stimulating, vivifying, energizing quality is in the air of the country. One need not drink champagne here—one breathes it. Look at the effect on the Irish or Italian immigrant. The population of Ireland is exceeded here in the numbers of Irishmen, and Irishmen have accomplished immensely more here than on the other side, while the lazy Italian develops into a plodding, strenuous worker that Italy never knew. The essence of democracy he breathes also, and the workman of to-day may be the employer of to-morrow. The employers are more accessible to their employees—there is less of a dividing margin. Question 19 of the delegates' catechism is, "Are there greater opportunities for the workingman to rise in America than in England?" "Ten thousand times more," was the enthusiastic answer of one who in his progress from having been an immigrant workman to being a millionaire can speak from the personal knowledge of personal experience. When, in considering the environment of the workers, we

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

come to consider the standard of their comfort in either country, I unhesitatingly say it is higher here—higher because it is more civilized. The well-paid British workman probably has more good beef to eat, more good beer to drink, but there is a smaller percentage of baths in his house, and the American workman has a larger supply of literature in the form of cheap books, magazines, papers, etc., or, if it may be said that the English workman has an equal supply, the American is unquestionably the larger consumer of it. The various co-operative methods by which the American workmen get at their amusements are interesting; they club together for lectures, concerts, theaters, excursions, etc. Their versatility and quick-moving adaptability for going from one employment to another more easily than in old countries are remarkable, but have also their drawbacks. Their very independence has its penalty. It is too much to say that America has lost the idea of the family home as it is known in England, but is not the tendency in that direction?

This all seems drifting away from the Mosely Commission; but I think it is not. The great lessons of the quest will be found to be learned, not from any special panacea that touches the spot in a detail of piece-work or time-work, but in the great conditions naturally upspringing from, on the one side, men working on the surface of a virgin continent across whose breast "Fecundity" is writ large with fullest meaning. On the other, the progeny of generations of workers toil in a confined area under conditions that have become almost inherited. There is a good deal of brag and boast and surface-show of energy on the one side, on the other appearances of being hidebound by labor traditions and conditions. I doubt if the average workman works one bit harder in the new country than in the old. Expeditions like this commission cannot but work for good. Nations and continents cannot be brought too closely in conference, like the other day when representatives of the biggest industries of America and England debated all the afternoon about an eight-hour day. An eight-hour day for the workers of the world there is a flag-pole for the unions to rally to. The world has become too small a place for anything less effectual than world conferences. Ten hours in Germany, eight hours in Britain, is anomalous. The capitalists have here their Morgan. Who is to be the Pierpont Morgan of the Labor Trust of the world? The delegates will each bring back to his trade a number of detail suggestions and a mass of information; but the general verdict will not be in pointing out any great superiority in favor of America. They have been much impressed with the high pitch to which both capital and labor have been organized here. The lesson to be learned from this might naturally make for conflict in hard-fought strikes; but they have recognized in the Civic Federation an organization that could bring arbitration to bear on and to avert such conflicts.

If We but Knew

By Clarence Hawkes

If we but knew the secret of that power
That opes the bud in early days of spring,
If we but knew what makes the robin sing
His wondrous song just at the matin hour,
If we but knew the priceless boon and dower
Of human life when man is truly king,
If we but understood the little thing
That vexes us just at the present hour,
If we but knew—ah, well, 'tis vain to sigh
And speculate on things beyond our ken!
We know that earth is fair and life is sweet,
And something tells us that we cannot die,
And if we live and love the good, ah! then
We face to face with truth some day must meet.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

James Bryce[1]

By Justin McCarthy

Author of "A History of Our Own Times," "The Story of Gladstone's Life," etc.

JAMES BRYCE is universally recognized as one of the intellectual forces in the British House of Commons. When he rises to make a speech, every one listens with the deepest interest, feeling sure that some ideas and some instruction are sure to come which no political party in the House can well afford to lose. Some men in the House of Commons have been orators and nothing else; some have been orators and instructors as well; some have been Parliamentary debaters more or less capable; and a good many have been bores. In every generation there have been a few who are especially regarded as illuminating forces. The House does not think of measuring their influence by any estimate of their greater or less capacity for mere eloquence of expression. It values them because of the lessons which they teach. To this small order of members James Bryce undoubtedly belongs. Now, I do not mean to convey the idea that such men as these are not usually endowed with the gift of eloquent utterance, or that they cannot deliver speeches which would entitle them to a high rank among Parliamentary debaters, no matter what the import of the speeches might be. My object is to describe a certain class of men whose Parliamentary deliverances are valued by members in general without any special regard for their form, but only with regard to their substance, for the thoughts which they utter and not for the manner of the utterance. James Bryce would be considered an effective and even a commanding speaker in any public assembly, but nevertheless, when the House of Commons and the public think of his speeches, these are thought of mainly for the truths they tell and the lessons they convey, and not for any quality of mere eloquence which adorns the exposition. In a certain sense James Bryce might be described as belonging to that Parliamentary order in the front of which John Morley stands just now; but of course John Morley has thus far had more administrative experience than James Bryce, and has taken a more distinct place as a Parliamentary and popular leader. Of both men, however, I should be inclined to say that their public speeches lose something of the praise fairly due to them as mere displays of eloquence, because of the importance we all attach to their intellectual and educational influence.

I may say also that James Bryce is not first and above all other things a public man and a politician. He does not seem to have thought of a Parliamentary career until after he had won for himself a high and commanding position as a writer of history. Bryce is by birth an Irishman and belongs to that northern province of Ireland which is peopled to a large extent by Scottish immigrants. We are all rather too apt to think of this Ulster province as essentially un-Irish, or even anti-Irish, in tone and feeling, although some of the most extreme among Irish Nationalists, men like John Mitchell for instance, were born and brought up in Ulster, and in more recent days some conspicuous Home Rulers have sat in the House of Commons as representatives of Ulster constituencies. James Bryce has always been an Irish Nationalist since he came into public life, and has shown himself, whether in or out of political office, a steady and consistent supporter of the demand for Irish Home Rule. Indeed, I should be well inclined to believe that a desire to render some personal service in promoting the just claims of Ireland for a better system of government must have had much influence over Bryce's decision to accept a seat in the House of Commons.

Bryce began his education in the University of Glasgow, from which he passed

[1] This forms the sixth of a series of articles on living British statesmen. The first, on Mr. Balfour, was printed in The Outlook for August 16; the second, on Lord Salisbury, in The Outlook for September 6; the third, on John Morley, in The Outlook for October 4; the fourth, on Henry Labouchere, in The Outlook for October 18; the fifth, on Lord Aberdeen, in The Outlook for November 1, 1902. Other subjects of articles will be Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Sir William Harcourt, John Redmond, John Burns.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on to Oxford, where he won many honors and has left the memory of a most successful career, not merely as student, but also as professor. He studied for a while at Heidelberg, where he cultivated to the full his previously acquired knowledge of German; and I have heard in later years on good authority that while Bryce was a member of Mr. Gladstone's Government he became a great favorite with Queen Victoria because of his capacity for fluent speech in the language which the late Queen loved especially to hear. Before he turned his attention to active political life Bryce studied for the bar, became a member of the profession, and actually practiced in the Law Courts for some years. Thus far, however, he had hardly given indication of the gifts which were destined to secure for him a high and enduring place in English literature. Thus far his life may be regarded as that of a student and a scholar; he had yet to give to the world the fruits of his scholarship. James Bryce is probably above all things a scholar. He is, I may venture to say, the most scholarly man in the House of Commons. I doubt whether there is in England so widely read a man in all departments of literature, art, and science as Bryce, now that Lord Acton has been removed from us by death. Long before his entrance into Parliamentary life Bryce had obtained the highest distinction as a writer of history. It is not too much to say that his great historical work, "The Holy Roman Empire," is destined to be an English classic and a book for all countries and all times. The author could hardly add to the reputation which he won by this masterpiece of historical study, insight, and labor, but it is only mere justice to say that every work of importance which he afterwards gave to the world has maintained his position in literature. His turn of mind has been always that which distinguishes the practical student—the student of realities, not the visionary or the dreamer, the man who, according to Goethe's phrase, is occupied more by the physical than by the metaphysical. In 1877 he published a narrative of his travels in Transcaucasia, with an account of his ascent of Mount Ararat. I believe no other traveler has ever accomplished such a practical study of Mount Ararat as that which was made by Mr. Bryce, and during a part of his explorings he was absolutely alone, as he could not prevail upon the guides belonging to that region to overcome their superstitious dread of an intrusion on certain parts of the mountain. He was always fond of travel and was able to bring some fresh ideas out of places long familiar to tourists, and he gave to the world in English periodicals the results of his experiences as a traveler. His descriptions of Icelandic scenery and of some rarely visited regions of Hungary and of Poland have a genuine literary as well as a genuine geographical value.

His most important work, after his great history of the Holy Roman Empire, is undoubtedly his book on "The American Commonwealth," published in 1888. This work has been read as generally and studied as closely on the one side of the Atlantic as on the other. I have heard it spoken of with as thorough appreciation in New York, Boston, and Washington as in London, Manchester, and Liverpool. Many years have passed since an eminent English public man, not now living, once expressed to me an earnest wish that some European writer would take up the story of the great American Commonwealth just where De Tocqueville left it in his "De la Démocratie en Amérique." I joined cordially in his ideas and his wishes, and we discussed the qualifications of certain Englishmen for the task if any of them could see his way to undertake it, but neither of us seemed to be quite satisfied that we had named the right man for the work. At the time it did not occur to either of us that the historian of "The Holy Roman Empire" would be likely to turn his attention to the story of the American Commonwealth. Indeed, the two studies seemed to me so entirely different and uncongenial that if the name of James Bryce had been suggested to me at the time I should probably have put it aside without much hesitation. One could hardly have looked for so much versatility even in Mr. Bryce as to favor the expectation that he could accomplish, with something like equal success, two historical works dealing with such totally different subjects and requiring such different methods of analysis and contemplation.

More lately still Mr. Bryce brought out

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his "Impressions of South Africa." This book was published in 1897, and the time of its publication was most appropriate. It appeared when the prospects of a war with the Transvaal Republic were opening gloomily for the lovers of peace and fair dealing in England. If Mr. Bryce's impressions of South Africa could only have been appreciated, and allowed to have their just influence with the leaders of the Conservative party at that critical time, England might have been saved from a long and futile war, and from much serious discredit in the general opinion of the civilized world. But if Bryce had spoken with the tongue of an angel, he could not at such a time have prevailed against the rising passion of Jingoism and the overmastering influence of mining speculators. It is only right to say that the book was in no sense a mere distended political pamphlet. It was not meant as a counterblast to Jingoism, or as a glorification of the Boer Republic. It was a fair and temperate statement of the author's observations in South Africa, and of the general conclusions to which his experience and his study had brought him. Bryce pointed out with perfect frankness the defects and dangers which he saw in the Boer system of government, and even the most ferocious Jingo could hardly have felt justified in describing the author by that most terrible epithet, a "pro-Boer." The warning which Bryce gave, and gave in vain, to the English Government and the English majority, was a warning against the credulous acceptation of one-sided testimony, against the fond belief that the proclamation of Imperialism carried with it the right to intervene in the affairs of every foreign State, and against the theory that troops and gold-mines warrant any enterprise.

The Parliamentary career of James Bryce began in 1880, when he was elected as Liberal representative for a London constituency. He did great work in the cause of national education, and took an important part in two State commissions appointed to conduct inquiries into the working of the public schools. At a later period he was chosen to represent a Scottish constituency, and when Mr. Gladstone came into power as the head of a government he received the important office of Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. At that time his chief, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was a member of the House of Lords, and therefore the whole work of representing the department in the House of Commons, where alone any important debates on foreign questions are conducted, fell on Mr. Bryce, who had the entire conduct of such discussions on behalf of the administration. The department was one which gave an effective opportunity for the display of Bryce's intimate knowledge of foreign countries, and he acquitted himself with all the success which might have been expected from one of his intellect, his experience, and his enlightened views. Later still he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and for the first time had a seat in the Cabinet. The Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster is one of a small order of English administrative offices which have comparatively unimportant duties attached to their special administration, and leave the man in possession ample time to lend his assistance, both in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons, to all the great public questions which occupy the attention of the Government. In 1894 he became President of the Board of Trade, one of the most important positions in any administration. Bryce's official career came to a close for the present when the Liberal party lost their majority in the representative chamber, and the Conservatives got into power and secured the administrative position which they are holding at the present day. Nothing can be more certain than that the first really Liberal administration which is again formed will assign to Mr. Bryce one of the highest places in its Cabinet and in its work. Since he has come to sit on the benches of opposition he has taken part in many great debates, and is always listened to with the most profound attention. He is one of the few leaders of the Liberal party who were manful and outspoken in their opposition to the policy which originated and carried on the late South African war. He has taken a conspicuous part in every debate upon subjects of foreign policy, of national education, and of political advancement. He has never acted as a mere partisan, and his intervention in debate is all the more influential as it is well understood that he advocates a policy because he believes it to be right and not because of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any effect it may have in bringing himself and his Liberal colleagues back again into power.

I have often noticed the effect which is produced in the libraries and committee-rooms, in the rooms assigned to those who dine and to those who smoke, when the news is passed round that Mr. Bryce is on his feet. A member who is reading up some subject in the library, or writing his letters in one of the lobbies, or enjoying himself in a dining-hall or a smoking-room, is not likely to hurry away from his occupation or his enjoyment in order to rush into the debating chamber merely because he is told that some leading member of the Government or the Opposition has just begun to address the House. The man who is addressing an audience in the debating chamber may hold an important office in the Government or may have an important place on the Front Bench of Opposition, but then he may be a personage who feels bound to take part in a debate merely because of the position which he holds, and every one knows in advance what views he is certain to advocate and what line of argument he is likely to adopt, and our reading or dining or smoking friend may not think that there is any pressing necessity for his presence as a listener in the House. But there are some leading men on both sides of Mr. Speaker who are always sure to have something to say which everybody wants to hear, and Mr. Bryce is unquestionably one of that happily endowed order. When the word goes round that Bryce is up, everybody knows that something will be said on which he cannot exactly calculate beforehand, something which it is important that he should listen to, and there is forthwith a rush of members into the debating chamber. There can hardly be a higher tribute to a man's importance as a debater than the fact that his rising to address the House creates such an effect, and I have seen it created again and again whenever the news went round that "Bryce is on his legs." I have many a time heard Conservative members murmur, in tones not altogether expressing absolute satisfaction at the disturbing information, "Bryce is up—I must go in and hear what he has to say." The tribute is all the higher in this case because Bryce is not one of the showy and fascinating debaters whom everybody wants to listen to for the mere eloquence and fascination of their oratorical displays. Everybody knows that when he speaks it is because he has something to say which ought to be spoken and therefore ought to be heard. It is known that Bryce will not make a speech merely because he thinks the time has come when some leader of Opposition ought to take part in the debate, if only to show that the Opposition is attending to its business.

This command over the House Bryce has always held since he became one of its members, and no man can hold a more desirable and a more honorable position. It is all the more to his credit because he does not aim at mere originality and never makes it a part of his ambition to say something astonishing and thus to excite and delight the mere curiosity of his audience. There have been and still are many members of the House who have made a reputation of this kind and are therefore always sure to command a full attendance merely because everybody expects that when they rise to their feet they are sure to make the House "sit up," if I may use this somewhat colloquial, not to say vulgar, phrase. Take such a man, for instance, as the late John Arthur Roebuck, a man of great intellect, master of a peculiar style of eloquence, who made himself only too often a splendid specimen of what might be called in American phraseology "a crank." All that could be said with certainty beforehand of Roebuck was that whenever he rose to speak he would say something calculated to startle or to puzzle the House. There are men of the same order, if not perhaps of quite the same debating qualifications, in the House at present—men who always draw a rush of members when they rise to speak because nobody can tell in advance what side they are likely to advocate or what sort of bewildering paradox they may set up and make up interesting if not convincing by the force of their peculiar style of eloquence. Bryce is emphatically not a man of this order. He is no lover of paradox; he has no desire to create a sensation; he merely wants to impress the House with what he believes to be the truth, and his great quality is that of a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beacon and not of a flashlight. His arguments appeal to the intellect and the reasoning power; he speaks of what he knows; he has large resources of thought, experience, and observation to draw upon, and the listeners feel convinced beforehand that he will tell them something which they did not know already, or will put his case in some new and striking light.

The House of Commons well knows that it would lose one of its most valuable instructors if Bryce were no longer to occupy a place on its benches or were to condemn himself to habitual inactivity and silence. When the Conservative Government under Lord Salisbury came into power, and more especially after the late general election which brought them back with added strength, many of the Liberal leaders seemed to have grown weary of the political struggle. Something worse than mere apathy appeared to have set in, something more than mere despondency and disheartenment. Men on whom the Liberals of England had long been wont to rely suddenly showed an apparent loss of faith in all the proclaimed principles of the party, and either relapsed into utter silence or spoke in language which suggested an inclination to cross over to the enemy's camp. The two principal impulses to this mood of mind were the South African war and the Irish Home Rule question. The majority in the constituencies had become inflamed with the spirit of Jingoism, and could think of nothing but the war and the Imperial glory of annexing new territory. Feeble-hearted and weak-kneed Liberals began to think that the party could never hope for a return to power unless it too could blow the Imperial trumpet. Other Liberals made it manifest that they were becoming alarmed by the unpopularity of the Home Rule question, and were repenting the enthusiasm which had carried them too far along the path marked out by the genius and the patriotic resolve of Gladstone. A species of dry-rot appeared to have broken out in Liberalism. Before long a new section of Liberalism was formed, the principle of which appeared to be that its members should call themselves Imperial Liberals, and at the same time should support the Tories on the only important questions then under discussion—the policy of the South African campaign and the Irish National claim for Home Rule. Some of the men who had held high office when Gladstone was in power, who had made themselves conspicuous by the ardor and the eloquence with which they supported his policy of peace abroad and justice to Ireland, now openly avowed their renunciation of his great principles. There were others among the foremost Liberals in the House of Commons who, if they did not thus openly take the renegade part, kept themselves quietly out of the active political field and allowed the movement of reaction to go on without a word of protest. Three at least among the Liberal leaders took a very different course. Three of them, at least, not merely nailed their colors to the mast, but stood resolutely in fighting attitude beneath the colors and proved themselves determined to maintain the struggle. These three men were Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, John Morley, and James Bryce. There were others, too, it must be said, who stood up manfully with these three in defense of that losing cause of Liberalism which they could never be brought to regard as a lost cause. But the dauntless three whom I have just mentioned were the most prominent and the most influential who went forth against that great array of Toryism and Jingoism. Bryce was in his place as regularly as ever during the whole of that depressing time, and he never failed to raise his voice when the occasion demanded his intervention on behalf of the true principles and practices of Liberalism. During that long, dreary, and disheartening season when despondent men were often disposed to ask whether there was any longer a Liberal party, Bryce made some of the ablest speeches he has ever delivered in arraignment of the Jingo policy, of the War Office maladministration, and the rule of renewed coercion in Ireland. The Liberal cause in England owes a debt that never can be forgotten to the three men whom I have named, for their unflinching resolve and activity in the House of Commons; and of the three none did better service than that which was rendered by James Bryce.

Bryce has, in face and form, the characteristics of a stalwart fighter. His forehead is high and broad, with strongly marked eyebrows, straightly drawn over

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deep and penetrating eyes. The features are all finely modeled, the nose is straight and statuesque, the hair is becoming somewhat thinner and more gray than it was when I first knew Mr. Bryce, but the mustache and beard, although they too show some fading of color, are still thick and strong as in that past day. The face does not look Irish; its expression is perhaps somewhat too sedate and resolute; but, on the other hand, it does not seem quite Scotch, for there is at moments a suggestion of dreaminess about it which we do not usually associate with the shrewd North Briton. Bryce is a man of the most genial temperament, thoroughly companionable, and capable of enjoying every influence that helps to brighten existence. Always a student of books and of men, he is never a recluse, and I do not know of any one who seems to get more out of life than does this philosophic historian. Bryce's London home is noted for its hospitality, and his dinner parties and evening parties give much delight to his large circle of friends. Mr. and Mrs. Bryce are not lion-hunters, and do not rate their friends according to the degree of celebrity which each may have obtained. But they have no need to engage in a hunt after lions, for the celebrities seek them out as a matter of course, and I know of no London house where one is more certain to meet distinguished men and women from all parts of the civilized world. Bryce's travels have made him acquainted with interesting and eminent persons everywhere, and an admission to his circle is naturally sought by strangers who visit London. Representatives of literature, science, and art, of scholarly research, of political movement, and of traveled experience are sure to be met with in the home of the Bryces. I had the good fortune to meet there, for the first time, many distinguished men and women whose acquaintance it was a high and memorable privilege to make. Among Bryce's especial recreations is mountain-climbing, and he was at one time President of the Alpine Club. He can converse upon all subjects, can give to every topic some illustration from his own ideas and his own experiences, and the intelligent listener always finds that he carries away something new and worthy of remembrance from any talk with him. Although his strong opinions and his earnest desire to maintain what he believes to be the right side of every great controversy have naturally brought him into frequent antagonism with the representatives of many an important cause, I do not know of any public man who has made fewer enemies or is more generally spoken of with respect and admiration. A man must have very high conceit indeed of his own knowledge and his own judgment who does not feel that he has a great deal to learn from conversation with a master of so many subjects. Yet Bryce never oppresses a listener, as some intellectual leaders are apt to do, with a sense of the listener's inferiority, and the least gifted among us is encouraged to express himself with frankness and freedom while discoursing with Bryce on any question which happens to come up. I think that among his many remarkable qualities is that sincere belief which was characteristic of Mr. Gladstone, and for which Gladstone did not always get due credit—the belief that every man, however moderate his intellectual qualifications, has something to tell which the wisest would be the better for knowing. We must all of us have met scholars and thinkers and political leaders whose inborn sense of their own capacity had an overbearing and even oppressive effect on the ordinary mortal, and made him shy of expressing himself fully lest he should only be displaying his ineptitude or his ignorance in such a presence. But there is nothing of this to be observed in the genial ways of James Bryce, and the listener finds himself unconsciously brought for the time to the level of the master and emboldened to give free utterance to his own ideas and opinions.

Bryce has been made a member of most of the great intellectual and educational institutions of the world, has held degrees and honors of various kinds from the universities of Europe and the United States, and could hardly travel anywhere abroad or at home without finding himself in recognized association with some school of learning in every place where he makes a stay. The freemasonry of intellect and education all over the world gives him rank among its members, and receives him with a welcome recognition wherever he goes. I presume that in the political sphere of action he is henceforward likely

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to find his congenial career, but he must always have the knowledge that, if for any reason he should give up his political occupation, he can at any moment return to some pursuit in which he has already won an established fame. There are not many political leaders of our time about whom the same could fairly be said. For myself I may frankly say that I hope James Bryce will henceforward devote himself especially to that political career in which he has accomplished such great things. English public life cannot well afford to lose his services just now and for some time to come. A man who can bring to political work such resources of thought and of experience, who can look beneath the surface and above the mere phrases and catchwords of political parties, who can see that Liberalism in its true sense must mean progress, and who can at the same time see clearly for himself what progress really means, and in what direction and by what methods it is to be made—such a man could ill be spared by the Liberalism of our generation. The historical work he has already done is, in its way, complete and imperishable. But the Liberal party has yet to recover its place and to regain the leadership of England's political life. Every effort which the Conservatives in office have lately been making to hold their full mastery over the country has only shown more and more clearly that they have not kept up with the movements of thought and are not able to understand the true requirements of the time. On the other hand, the limp and shattered condition of the existing Liberal party only shows the absolute necessity for the recognized leadership of men who understand the difference between the work of guiding the country and the ignoble function of competing for power by imitation and by compromise. In the new effort now so sorely needed to create once more a true Liberal party, the country requires, above all things else, the constant service of such men as James Bryce.

The Young Finlander and the National Spirit

By H. Montague Donner

EVENTS have moved with a swift pace indeed since the writing of my article published in The Outlook of September 20, 1902, and the last gleam of hope that feebly irradiated the murky skies of oppression hanging over Finland has now faded away, leaving the inhabitants of that unhappy land gazing in consternation at the dark horizon where national obliteration begins.

Now that the mask has been definitely dropped from the Russian designs and active persecution ushered in with the issue of the famous—and infamous—ukases of October 2, the paramount care of the Finnish people is no longer to appeal, but to act; no longer to entreat, but to resist; and from the generation but recently out of its teens must the larger works of salvation come.

Hence it becomes incumbent upon us to understand something of the status of parties and the workings of public opinion in Finland, and more particularly to familiarize ourselves, if possible, with the plan of action of the generation of young Finlanders on whom the problem of the future weighs most immediately and heavily.

From the time when the Swedish Helsings first established themselves through right of conquest on Finnish soil, and more markedly since the beginning of Muscovite domination, there has existed in Finland a dual racial problem, which, at all times difficult of solution, has not infrequently been marked by an access of bitterness on the part of the factions concerned that has invariably proved a source of weakness by which the wily Russian has seldom failed to profit when occasion invited. The language question it was that long divided Finland, to its undoubted injury, into the rival camps of the Svekomans and Fennomans.

As the names indicate, the Svekomans

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comprised the inhabitants of Swedish extraction, inhabiting the western, southwestern, and part of the southern coast line to a distance of about eighteen miles inland, and speaking as their mother tongue the language of their neighbors across the Gulf of Bothnia, and imbued with the traditions of Swedish social, political, and literary supremacy; while under the banners of the Fennoman faction were gathered the people of pure Finnic stock, whose aim was the triumph of the Finnish idiom, not merely as the dominant factor in the domains of society and government, but also as the proper expression of the national spirit.

It was but natural that the majority of the governmental body and the official class as a whole should belong to the Svekoman party, and just as natural that the guns of the Fennomans should be trained upon them with most pertinacity and determination. It was also only in the order of things—according to decree of nature, let us even admit—that the Fennomanic ideal, especially since the discovery of the Kalevala, of a young and vigorous people, distinctively Finnish in character and tongue, ready to take its place in the ranks of nations by the side of the recently emancipated Rumania, Servia, and Bulgaria, should have steadily continued to gain adherents among the rising generation, irrespective of party affiliations. Thanks largely to the more or less active interference of Russian diplomacy—whose peculiar forte it has always been, constantly is, and ever will be to foment discord and create disunion in the ranks of its present or prospective victims, and which saw in the weakening of the hitherto superior political power the most favorable opportunity for hastening the accomplishment of its own nefarious designs on the autonomy of Finland itself—the Fennomans succeeded, as the struggle went on, in gaining material advantages over their Svekoman rivals. The Finnish language came to be recognized as on an equal footing with Swedish as the official tongue, and an ever-increasing proportion of important government posts fell to the share of the party.

The present crisis, affecting as it does the very life of the Finnish nation, has, however, revolutionized the old standing of parties, and we hear little nowadays of Svekoman and Fennoman hostility. In the face of the threatened extinction of the national life, the Svekomans, guided by the wise counsels of Van Born, Wrede, Schybergson, Axel Lille, former editor of the suppressed "Nya Pressen," and V. Söderhjelm, have abandoned their uncompromising attitude on the questions of language and franchise reform, to devote all their energies to the defense of the common fatherland, while the Fennoman party has split into two irreconcilable halves, the Old Finns and the Young Finns. The last-named faction, under the leadership of ex-Consul Wolff (whose speech at St. Petersburg on behalf of Finland on the occasion of the first monster petition to the Czar in 1899 made such a profound impression in Europe), Castrèn, the writer Aho, the poet Erkko, and Professor Otto Donner, have thrown to the winds the old differences with their Swedish-speaking fellow-countrymen, with the result that the two have coalesced under the title of the Constitutional party, which proclaims as its one great object the retention of the autonomous government of Finland, and has come to represent the sentiment of the nation at large, with whom the Senate and the Old Finns have fallen into complete disfavor.

The policy of this latter party, sacrificing everything, from the time of the first manifesto of February, 1899, to the fetich of party aggrandizement, has been one of consistent abandonment of all opposition to the autocratic will of the Russian Government, of abject surrender at each successive attack of the cohorts of bureaucracy; and in this attitude of self-effacement, ardently advocated in its semi-official organ "Uusi Suometar," it has had the guidance of three men of signal ability and far-reaching influence, Archbishop Johansson of Abo, and former Senators Yrjö-Koskinen and J. R. Danielson, the latter an eminent jurist and political writer, and in earlier days one of the stanchest upholders of Finnish autonomy and opponents of Russian aggression. Yrjö-Koskinen is in some respects the foremost figure in the Grand Duchy—a man of great mental alertness, abounding energy, and a personal influence that once seemed little short of hypnotic. But that this strange power of his is at last deserting him in some measure is shown by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact that many of his former adherents have lately left him, among them Tudéer, formerly Vice-President of the Senate, and hitherto one of the most faithful dancers to Koskinen's piping, while A. Meurman, a communal councilor and one of the most influential of the faction, shows signs of kicking over the traces and transferring his allegiance to the Constitutional party.

The specious plea of the Old Fennoman party has been that, by due and "loyal" submission to the will of their monarch, the Finnish people would retain the Czar's good will and at the same time build a bridge over the present chasm of misunderstanding upon which the autocrat and his Finnish subjects may meet at some future day of enlightenment and perfect a compact whereby an equal measure of justice to both Finland and Russia shall be insured. Surely it is small matter for wonder, in view of the latest manifestations of the Russian Government's hatred of Finnish institutions, its indifference to past promises and pledges, and its contemptuous flouting of its servile instrument, the "reorganized" Finnish Senate, and the reduction of that body to an innocuous "advisory" capacity, that the more self-respecting among Yrjö-Koskinen's followers should have commenced to blush for their weakness, and that the Old Fennoman faction should now show, in spite of frantic efforts to disguise its real condition, unmistakable signs of approaching disintegration.

Among a people so imbued with the spirit of liberty as the Finns, the doctrine of blind obedience to the behests of a despot can find acceptance no more readily than it did among the English under Charles I. and James II., or the Dutch under Philip of Spain. Against the granite-bound steadfastness of the elemental Finn it is in vain that the storm breaks and rages.

For of what is compounded the elemental Finn? That we may comprehend the might of his bloodless resistance, we ask: "Who and what is this stern son of the North, to the full stature of whom the Russian autocrat, by the very nature of a tyrant's limitations, must ever fail to grow?" Verily, he is the child of the rock-ribbed land that gave him birth—tenacious of purpose as the rock-clasping roots of his native pine; slow in the forming of opinion as the growth of his primeval forests, but unendingly stubborn in the maintenance of it when formed; slow to wrath, but, if once aroused, silent and implacable in the nursing of his resentment. From his childhood at war with nature to wring from her a scant livelihood, he feels that when he has learned to conquer her she is, verily, his mother; that, motherlike, she is tender with him, eager out of her penury to lavish upon him of her best. She sets on his brow the triple crown of fortitude, patience, and resignation, whispering to him that, rooted in her, flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone, he must be both tender and indomitable, unyieldingly true to her and her ideals, and ready to defend them to his last gasp.

Out of this close daily communion with the soul of Nature, and the contemplation of her orderly processes, the Finn has drawn a fundamental faith in God and a belief in ultimate divine justice that is nowhere excelled, if anywhere equaled, on the face of the earth; and, concomitantly with this spiritual conviction, he is imbued with a regard for law and order that amounts almost to veneration. When, therefore, he sees these overturned with complacency, if not positive derision, by a hand that he had for a century been accustomed to look upon as that of, in the main, a guardian and well-wisher, what wonder that he undergoes a gradual revulsion of feeling, culminating in silent wrath and hatred of the alien tyrant who, robbing him of one cherished birthright after another, would reduce him to the debased level of the ignorant, spiritless Russian *mujik!*

In view of the fact that the last faint hope of ultimate justice has been dispelled by the retention of Bobrikoff as Governor-General, followed by the placing of supreme power in his hands, at the cost of the independence, not only of the Senate (which, considering the present "reorganization" of that body, is of little consequence), but even of the judiciary, hitherto the final bulwark of Finnish liberties, the present generation of Finland finds itself compelled to adopt a definite plan of action to avert the destruction, not merely of its autonomous form of government, but of the national existence itself.

And what is this plan of action? As

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

far as it has been definitely evolved, it consists, first and foremost, of a silent movement, practically universal in Finland, to carry out to the limit the doctrine of passive resistance to each and every step of Russian aggression. In the matter of the problem most pressingly confronting the Finnish people, the enlistment in Russian regiments of the youth of the country, who, after much pressure, were induced or frightened last summer into finally responding to the illegal ukase (which the clergy throughout the country refused to read from their pulpits), and presenting themselves for military inspection and enrollment (to the number of only 14,642 out of a total of 25,080 summoned), this resistance takes the form of a refusal to appear at the impending mustering-in. This action has been deliberately determined on, despite a printed appeal issued by certain of the Old Fennoman faction as the result of a meeting called by its leaders and held in Helsingfors last October, under the presidency of Professor Danielson, to consider the best means of meeting the threatened widespread "rebellion against authority"—which meeting disclosed a pitiful attendance of some fifty-odd members, and furnished indubitable proof of the general disrepute into which the Senate and the Russophile faction have fallen.

This, however, represents but a phase of the activity of young Finland. A work of incalculable importance has also been for some time in operation—that of instilling in the minds of Finnish children of all classes an adequate sense of the sacredness of Finnish constitutional liberties and law; an intimate knowledge of the traditions and history of the race; an abiding love for its literature, as enshrined in Kalevala and the poems of Runeberg, Topelius, and others; and a vital conception of Finland's standing and mission among the nations. In this labor of love no hamlet is too remote for the step of the teacher to penetrate or the voice of the Finnish patriot to reach. Officials who, trembling for their means of livelihood, give way to Russian pressure, are, cruel though it may seem, at once made to feel the public resentment and scorn, while a widespread movement has been set afoot, in which the women of the stricken land play an important part, to practice a rigid economy in household matters, especially by abandoning luxuries of every description and limiting the scope of family and social festivities, so as to provide a gigantic national fund for the assistance of conscientious and fearless officials who have been arbitrarily deposed by the Governor-General to make way for Russian interlopers.

But the most formidable project of all the plans mooted, the most aggressive and threatening toward the Muscovite oppressor, and most pregnant with possibilities of his discomfiture, is one that has been lately put forward in all seriousness, and in the present hopelessness of the Finns has found wide acceptance where it would have been scouted even a twelvemonth ago as too radical a departure from Finnish traditions. This is nothing less than to place Finland at the head of all the dissatisfied factions and nationalities tributary to Russia and systematically ground down by her ruthless bureaucratic machinery: the Poles, Lithuanians, Esthonians, Courlanders, Little Russians, Caucasians, and Jews, and the constantly growing revolutionary party in the body of the Empire itself, thus supplying the indispensable cohesion so far lacking among these various elements.

Never has dissatisfaction with the ruling class been so widespread among all classes in Russia itself as it is now, when even those parts of the social organism that have hitherto been most devoted to the doctrine of blind submission are becoming permeated with the ideals of social and political regeneration, and when even the military arm of the State has begun to show signs of disaffection most alarming to the bureaucratic class. Therefore, having nothing more to lose, these young Finlanders argue, it becomes Finland's highest duty to proclaim herself the champion of the struggling cause of liberty and enlightenment throughout the Muscovite Empire. Then, by inculcating among all the dissatisfied factions the doctrines of constitutional law and liberty, as she has herself practiced and perfected them, she will crystallize the purpose of the hitherto disunited and ill-organized bodies, furnish them with a perfectly definite programme which they shall unitedly strive their utmost to bring to triumphant adoption, and direct their campaign with the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

invaluable aid of Finnish enlightenment and practical experience in sound, progressive social and political organization. Violence will be discredited as out of keeping with the fundamental Finnish reverence for orderly development, and this very fact will, it is confidently expected, be the means of greatly strengthening the movement and securing for it the practical adhesion of the more stable and responsible elements of the social structure, which are none the less determined on a change in the principles of government because they discountenance the "propaganda of the deed." Though the present generation may not live to see it, the triumph of the great liberating movement will undoubtedly be greatly hastened by the active participation in it of the people of Finland, armed with the wisdom and knowledge garnered during centuries of gradual political development and its accompanying moral and intellectual achievement. Then will Finland once more come by her own, and the vision of Tolstoï be fulfilled, when Russia shall achieve her real unity through the peaceful process of being Fennicized, instead of through the incredibly blind and fatuous policy of the attempted Russification of Finland by the strong arm.

And what then remains for such of Finland's sons as have taken up their abode without the gates and watch their country's pain and peril from afar in sheltered peace? Have they no duty, too? Can they not take part in the battle for justice and restitution? Of a surety they did not flee from present oppression and suffering in their native land with the desire to evade all responsibility in the tremendous task that confronts the Finnish youth and manhood of to-day. They may say, "We must contribute of our means to swell the patriotic funds at home." Well and good, but does their responsibility end with this immediate material aim? No; theirs is the further duty of spreading a fuller knowledge of Finland, its institutions and its people, among the nations of the earth, so that no portion of the civilized world may remain in ignorance of the part which that far northern land, humble and forgotten though it have lain these centuries past, has played and continues to play in the world drama of political, social, and intellectual progress. By the slow but unfailing force of example, by word and deed, they must show what splendid training Finland has given her sons in citizenship and culture, and thus bring to the various lands of their adoption the well-defined conviction that the whole world is concerned, in a very real and vital sense, in the final defeat, not merely of Russia's intended annihilation of Finland's national life and thought, but *of each and every attempt of an inferior civilization to destroy a higher one*, under whatsoever pretext or by whatsoever means such attempt be made. So shall the time assuredly be hastened—though we live not to see it—when the triumph of broad, enlightened international opinion over the narrow dictates of national prejudices shall have ceased to be a mere dream of Utopia!

The Boer Side of the Boer War[1]

IF Sir Conan Doyle's description of the Boer War is regarded as a British apologia, General De Wet's book may with equal justice be regarded as a Boer defense. Coming only a fortnight after the appearance of ex-President Kruger's memoirs, it challenges attention because, like Oom Paul's story, it is written with simplicity, directness, vividness; and it challenges comparison with Oom Paul's work because it seems to be animated by a greater regard for exactness of statement, because of the absence of archaic notions, of deep-rooted prejudices, which disfigure the pages written by the venerable exile in Holland.

General De Wet's book is one which should be read both by pro-Britons and pro-Boers, because of its reasonableness; the author seems to be aware of this quality, and dedicates the volume "To my fellow-subjects in the British Empire." Such a striking dedication, together with

[1] *Three Years' War.* By Christiaan Rudolf De Wet. Frontispiece by John S. Sargent, R.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the author's closing words of loyalty to his adopted country, have called out two criticisms. Some, to whom Christiaan Rudolf De Wet has been not only an ideal cavalry leader and strategist, but also in unbending Boer loyalty an ideal hero, declare that he must have somehow sold himself, that the book with its dedication represents the first step in his preferment by Great Britain, and hint that by such means the British Government may finally have ended a war which was draining the best blood and treasure of England and her colonies. Others, however, pro-Boer as well as pro-British, feel, in our author's words, that "loyalty pays best in the end, and loyalty alone is worthy of a nation which has shed its blood for Freedom."

Before considering General De Wet's treatment of the war it is well to consider General De Wet himself. His portrait by Mr. Sargent, the frontispiece of the volume, tells us at a glance much about the man. No better delineator of the human face could have been chosen for this purpose than our foremost American portrait-painter; in his work we see the "slim" Boer—that shrewd, alert, clever, calculating, indomitable something which has distinguished the best as well as the worst Boers, which was as evident in a Joubert as in a Kruger. The portrait is one which remains impressed on the mind; long after we have closed the pages of this volume we see the man's face before us at every turn; and his face gives a double impact to his words.

Those words are both descriptive and critical. As to description, they do not narrate what the author himself has not seen. In this respect the "Three Years' War" is a soldier's story, first-hand and unpadded, in many respects worthy to stand alongside two accounts by great soldiers of their own experiences—General Grant's "Autobiography" and Lord Roberts's "Forty-one Years in India." While there is not a page of the description which is not readable, perhaps the most interesting are those pages which give us a new realization of the staggering blow to Boer enthusiasm dealt by Lord Roberts's victory at Paardeberg—the turning-point of the war—involving the defeat and capture of General Cronje. That Boer officer, by his obstinacy in maintaining a hopeless position, General De Wet thinks, really brought the defeat upon himself, whereas he might have sought to make good his escape in a night attack upon the beleaguering forces. "If I presume to criticise his conduct on this occasion," says our author, "it is only because I believe that he ought to have sacrificed his own ideas for the good of the nation, and that he should not have been courageous at the expense of his country's independence, to which he was as fiercely attached as I." Intrepid soldier that he was, General Cronje evidently thought that to abandon his laager was quite too much for De Wet or any one else to ask; at all events, the latter says that, while Cronje's view was either to stand or fall with the laager, he did not consider the certain consequence of a possible fall, namely, an "indescribable panic throughout not only all the laagers on the veldt, but even those of Colesberg, Stormberg, and Ladysmith." For "if Cronje were captured, how could any ordinary burgher be expected to continue his resistance?" To the contention of the Cronje party that, had the attempt been made which De Wet urged, the Boers would have been pursued and overtaken by Lord Roberts's forces, our author replies:

> The English at that time did not employ as scouts Kaffirs and Hottentots, who could lead them by night as well as by day; moreover, with the reinforcements I had received, I had about sixteen hundred men under me, and they would have been very useful in holding back the enemy until Cronje had made his escape. No words can describe my feelings when I saw that Cronje had surrendered and noticed the result which this had on the burghers. Depression and discouragement were written on every face. The effects of this blow, it is not too much to say, made themselves apparent to the very end of the war.

After this surrender De Wet immediately set about doing what he could to allay the panic which had seized upon the Boers. Feeling that Lord Roberts's troops must remain for some time at Bloemfontein in order to obtain needed rest, De Wet decided to take advantage of the expected circumstance; for, in his opinion, there was but one way to restore Boer prestige—to let his soldiers go home, and there to weed out all of the incapables, or discouraged, or traitors; then, with those who were willing to fight to the end, to make another stand. De Wet felt sure

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the best fighters would return in full number. His confidence was ultimately well justified. General Joubert, who had come from the Transvaal into the Free State hoping to be able there to discover some method for checking Lord Roberts's advance, was anything but pleased to hear of the De Wet plan, and exclaimed:

"Do you mean to tell me that you are going to give the English a free hand, whilst your men take their holiday?"

"I cannot catch a hare, General, with unwilling dogs," I made reply. But this did not satisfy the old warrior at all. At last I said:

"You know the Afrikanders as well as I do, General. It is not our fault that they don't know what discipline means. Whatever I might have said or done, the burghers would have gone home; but I'll give you my word that those who come back will fight with renewed courage." I knew very well that there were some who would not return, but I preferred to command ten men who were willing to fight rather than a hundred who shirked their duties.

Among British Generals, General Knox occupies most space in the book. Lords Roberts and Kitchener seem to have comparatively scant consideration. The author's most interesting reference, however, is to General Buller. He says that "whatever his own people have to say to his discredit, Sir Redvers had to operate against stronger positions than any other British General." Concerning his own achievements, the best of the war, the most brilliant leader that any recent war has produced is, as we should expect, modest, and extremely concise in language, especially in describing the battle at Sanna's Post, where the hitherto little-known burgher administered such a crushing defeat to Colonel Broadwood that no less than 350 Englishmen were killed or wounded, and 480 prisoners, 7 cannon, and 117 wagons captured. A few days later, with only 800 men, near Reddersburg, facing three times that number of English, De Wet inflicted a similar defeat—a defeat, however, characterized, according to our author, by treachery on the part of the British. They had hoisted the white flag, and De Wet with his men galloped towards them, but before they reached them the British again began to shoot, killing a Boer officer.

This treacherous act enraged our burghers, who at once commenced to fire with deadly effect. Soon the white flag appeared above almost every stone behind which an Englishman lay, but our men did not at once cease firing. Indeed, I had the greatest difficulty in calming them and in inducing them to stop, for they were, as may well be imagined, furious at the misuse of the white flag. Strewn everywhere about on the ground lay the English killed and wounded. According to the official statement, they had a hundred casualties, the commanding officer himself being among the killed. We took four hundred and seventy prisoners of war.

While there are undoubtedly two sides to this story (the misuse of the white flag is said to have characterized the Boers more than the British), there is one feature of the Boer conflict—the horrors of the war as affecting women and children—which justifies vigorous language. Before Lord Roberts left South Africa he had issued proclamations prescribing that any building within ten miles of the railway where the Boers had broken up the railway line should be burnt down.

This was also carried out, not only within the specified radius, but also everywhere throughout the State. Everywhere houses were burnt down, or destroyed with dynamite; and, worse still, the furniture itself and the grain were burned, and the sheep, cattle, and horses carried off. Nor was it long before horses were shot down in heaps and the sheep killed by thousands by the Kaffirs and the national scouts, or run through by the troops with the bayonets. The devastation became worse and worse from day to day. And the Boer women—did they lose courage, with this before their eyes? By no means. As when the capturing of women (or rather the war against them and against the possessions of the Boers) commenced, they took to bitter flight, to remain at least out of the hands of the enemy. In order to keep something for themselves and their children, they loaded the carriages with grain and with the most indispensable furniture. When then a column approached a farm, even at night, in all sorts of weather, many a young daughter had to take hold of the leading-rope of the team of oxen and the mother the whip, or *vice versa*. Many a smart, well-bred daughter rode on horseback and urged the cattle on, in order to keep out of the hands of the pursuers as long as at all possible, and not to be carried away to the concentration camps, which the British called refugee camps (camps of refuge). How incorrect indeed! Could any one ever have thought before the war that the twentieth century could show such barbarities? No! Any one knows that in war cruelties more horrible than murder can take place, but that such direct and indirect murder should have been committed against defenseless women and children is a thing which I should have staked my head could never have happened in a war waged by the civilized British nation. And yet it happened. Laagers containing no one but women and children and decrepit old men were fired upon with cannon and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rifles. . . . I could append now hundreds of declarations in proof of what I say.

It is, however, when General De Wet comes to speak of something to him still more incredible, the treachery of his own men, under the work of national (Boer) scouts used by the British, that his language becomes more forceful:

England's great power was pitted against two little Republics which, in comparison with European countries, were nearly uninhabited. The mighty empire employed against us, besides its own English, Scotch, and Irish soldiers, volunteers from the Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, and South African colonies, hired against us both black and white nations, and, what is worst of all, national scouts from our own nation, sent out against us. . . . If there had been no national scouts and no Kaffirs, in all human probability matters would have taken another turn. . . . The English only learned the art of scouting during the latter period of the war, when they made use of Boer deserters. . . . The English, we admitted, had a perfect right to have such sweepings and to use them against us, but we utterly despised them (the deserters) for allowing themselves to be hired. We felt that their motive was not to obtain the franchise of the Uitlanders, but—five shillings a day! And if it should by any chance happen that any one of them should find his grave there—well, the generation to come would not be very proud of that grave. No! it would be regarded with horror as the grave of an Afrikander who had helped to bring his brother Afrikanders to their downfall. . . . Such men, alas! there have always been, since in the first days of the human race Cain killed his brother Abel. . . . It was far easier to fight against the great English army than against treachery among my own people, and an iron will was required to fight against both. If only our orders had been carried out a little more strictly, and if only the most elementary rules of strategy had been observed in our efforts to break the British lines of communication, Lord Roberts and his thousands of troops would have found themselves shut up in Pretoria, where they would have perished of hunger. . . . Had not so many of our burghers proved false to their own colors, England, as the great Bismarck foretold, would have found her grave in South Africa.

Many an excerpt might be taken from this interesting volume, full of description—perhaps not always exact enough—and equally full of criticism which spares neither friend nor foe. His foe triumphed in the end. It was an expected triumph, but a quarter-million men were finally required to bring down such "embattled farmers" as De Wet, Delarey, and Botha. Finally these were brought low. Resistance was no longer possible. They did the manly, the courageous, and what to many seems the impossible thing, they not only submitted to the conqueror, they pledged allegiance to the only Government which thenceforth could rule in South Africa. They had fought for independence and freedom; in losing independence who shall say that they have not gained a greater freedom than any they had yet enjoyed or could enjoy under a Boer oligarchy? It is to be hoped that the magnanimous spirit of General De Wet animates the majority of his countrymen. In impressive words he thus sums up his own position: "There was nothing left for us now but to hope that the Power which had conquered us, a Power to which we were compelled to submit, though it cut us to the heart to do so, and which, by the surrender of our arms, we had accepted as our ruler, would draw us nearer and ever nearer by the strong cords of love."

Bishop Potter on Industrial Duties[1]

BISHOP POTTER'S Yale lectures consist of two very distinct parts: first, the personal observations of the author regarding the moral side of the industrial relationships of our modern life; and, second, the statistical generalizations which his reading upon the subject has led him to accept. The first of these portions is fortunately much the larger, for it is incomparably the better. Bishop Potter's incursions into the field of economic statistics seem to have been chiefly confined to the study of such popularizers as Mr. Mallock and Mr. Willey, and his uncritical citation of their views gives this part of the work a capitalistic trend quite at variance with most of Bishop Potter's personal observations. Nothing could seem more capitalistic, for example, than Bishop Potter's apparent approval of Mr. Mallock's citation of

[1] *The Citizen in his Relation to the Industrial Situation.* Yale Lectures by Henry Codman Potter, D.D., LL.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Leoni Levi's assertion that the entire rental "of all the land in England, if divided equally among the adult population, would give each man about two pence a day and each woman about three halfpence." Were the statement true, it would be but a hackneyed method of belittling the concentration of wealth; and it has not even the merit of being true. The income of English landlords, as returned by themselves for taxation, is $250,000,000 a year from agricultural land alone, $900,000,000 from city land and houses, and $50,000,000 from mines and quarries—a total of twelve hundred millions, or an average of $150 a year for every family in the nation. If this estimate be cut in two because the tax returns include the rental of houses as well as land, the figure is still treble that indicated by Mr. Mallock. The American figures cited upon the same question of the distribution of wealth are better grounded, but also stand in need of more critical treatment. The money wages of city workmen, it is stated on good authority, rose about 50 per cent. between 1860 and the early seventies, and, on the whole, kept this gain during the twenty years of falling prices which followed, so that the purchasing power of wages in 1891 was from 60 to 70 per cent. greater than in 1860. The rate of interest, it is next stated upon no authority, fell from seven per cent. twenty years ago to four or five per cent to-day. Then from these two statements there is deduced the startling conclusion that "the last quarter of a century—to speak in general terms—has brought to the workingman an increase in his earnings of from 60 to 70 per cent., while the same period has cost the capitalist the loss of from 20 to 30 per cent. upon his." This conclusion rests upon a perfect network of unwarranted assumptions. In the first place, it is assumed that the earnings of workmen rose from 60 to 70 per cent. during "the last quarter of a century," whereas the figures cited showed no advance since 1873, except such as came from the fall in prices. If this fall in prices increased the purchasing power of the wages of workmen—who had to meet advancing rents—it also increased the purchasing power of the interest of the capitalist, who generally profited by the advance in rents. Yet no such correction is made in reckoning the change in the capitalist's income, and the rate of interest he receives is reckoned to have decreased two or three times as rapidly as the census figures show. It is to be regretted that a book which ought to be read so widely as this of Bishop Potter's should contain such one-sided statements regarding the important subject of the economic separation of classes.

Fortunately, these statements do not indicate the spirit of the book. No recent writer has brought out more sharply than does Bishop Potter the separation of classes which the spirit of Christianity is bound to combat. "It is in vain," he says, "that we endeavor by amiable sophisms . . . to obscure to ourselves or to others that tremendous cleavage which in our time has come to pass between the rest of human society and those who make up what we call the working classes. . . . Almost the worst enemy to the progress of human society is the spirit of caste; and the tragic element in the constitution of our modern social structure is that, under forms of government that profess long ago to have renounced and abandoned it, it still rears its head in forms more insolent and more mischievous than any that in any age of human history it has assumed."

This citation indicates the moral temper with which Bishop Potter regards the growing power of the capitalist class. Its dominant spirit of commercialism is a thing utterly hateful to him, and its arrogant attitude toward the men who do the work of manual laborers is even more repellent than the same attitude when assumed by the heirs of a long line of feudal ancestry. There are many practical suggestions as to the methods by which the public can curb aggression on the part of organized wealth, and there are still more practical suggestions as to how it may lift up the manhood of the poor by shortening the hours of labor and granting wages and conditions which permit wholesome living.

The observations made to the well-to-do classes regarding their industrial duties are by no means confined to the direct employers of labor. Every one who purchases goods, Bishop Potter strongly urges, is indirectly an employer of labor, and is morally bound to give his or her trade to factories and stores which treat

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their employees honorably and well. Nor do our industrial duties end with our treatment of those who serve us. We all have another and most vital duty in the matter of moderating our demands for service from others. One of the most dangerous foes of the higher life of our modern communities is the temptation to luxury. It corrupts, says Bishop Potter, not only the rich who yield to it, but the poor who witness it. "As enervating character, as debauching morals, as threatening—nay, destroying—the purity of the family and the integrity of the individual, there is no other single influence that can surpass it, if there is any that can equal it. Ask any experienced worker among low and outcast women what in the case of young girls has been most productive in inducing those awful lapses that consist in the prostitution of the human body, and they will tell you what madness seizes upon the young when the lust of personal display is appealed to by a gold brooch or a pair of diamond earrings. . . . The question must needs come home to every man and woman among us: 'If I have wealth, how far am I warranted in indulging this craze, in feeding this passion, whether in myself or others, or in using great expenditure in whatever form to promote the creation of a standard by which no good end is served and every bad and base passion inflamed and stimulated?'" If we would have the community free from materialism, our own lives must not be ruled by its standards.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Americans in Process: A Settlement Study. By Residents and Associates of the South End House. Edited by Robert A. Woods. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 389 pages. $1.50, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Birds of God: Angels and Sundry Imaginative Figures from the Pictures of the Masters of the Renaissance. Selected for Children by J. B. Radcliffe-Whitehead. R. H. Russell, New York. 11×14 in.

An elaborately prepared portfolio of monotint reproductions of many famous pictures, intended to serve as an introduction to art-appreciation by children. The title given to the book is singular and not very apt.

Book of Meditations (A). By Edward Howard Griggs. B. W. Huebsch, 150 Nassau Street, New York. 5×7¾ in. 226 pages. $1.50. (Postage, 10c.)

Under this modest title is found high worth—the observations and reflections of a cultured mind at home and abroad, at home everywhere that art and books are found, in sympathy with human life in all its experiences, and Nature in all her moods. Professor Griggs's "Meditations" are as many-sided as the world that suggests them, and stimulating to all that is best in thought and conduct. It is a good book to have on the table, convenient for intellectual and moral refreshment in the chance moment of leisure.

Corot and Millet: With Critical Essays by Gustave Geffroy and Arsène Alexandre. Edited by Charles Holme. John Lane, New York. 8½×11½ in. $2, net.

There are no more inspiring names in the history of modern French painting than those of Camille Corot and Jean François Millet. We have recently seen in Sir Walter Armstrong's "Turner" the influence of certain regrettable qualities of personality on the work of a great artist; in this appreciation by MM. Geffroy and Alexandre we have a more encouraging and optimistic impression. As to landscape-painting, not even Turner himself so energized and broadened it as did the more admirable Corot, according to some enthusiasts perhaps the only worthy successor of Claude Lorraine; while as to genre work, what name may be put alongside Millet's? Why these things are so may be appreciated first of all, it must be owned, from such a comprehensive and acutely appreciative biography as Julia Cartwright's "Millet" (a new edition of which has just appeared); such a volume as the present, however, should also be in the hands of every lover of French painting. If the work cannot be read in the original, the American or English reader can take advantage of this sympathetic translation by Mr. Edgar Preston. The text is lavishly illustrated with reproductions of Corot's oil paintings, decorative paintings, charcoal drawings, and etchings, and with reproductions of Millet's crayon studies, pen drawings, drypoints, heliographs, woodcuts, oil paintings, and water-colors.

Correggio. By Leader Scott. (Bell's Miniature Series of Painters.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 68 pages. $1.

Reserved for later notice.

Country Without Strikes (A). By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 4½×7¼ in. 183 pages.

A timely cheap edition of the one important book on compulsory arbitration.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Economic Interpretation of History (The). By Edwin R. A. Seligman. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 166 pages. $1.50.

Reserved for later notice.

Economics of Forestry. By Bernhard E. Fernow, LL.D. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 520 pages. $1.50, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Ethics: Civil and Political. By David Allyn Gorton, M.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5¼×8 in. 237 pages. $1.50, net.

Familiar Studies of Men and Books. By Robert Louis Stevenson. 2 vols. Illustrated. Herbert B. Turner & Co., Boston. 4¼×6½ in. 226 pages.

An extremely attractive edition of some of Mr. Stevenson's most characteristic papers; the two small volumes, printed from an unusually clear and effective type, on good paper, with illustrations, form one of the most convenient and altogether satisfactory editions of the essays, sketches, and studies which has yet appeared.

First Book of Forestry. By Filbert Roth. Illustrated. Ginn & Co., Boston. 5½×7½ in. 291 pages. 75c. (Postage, 10c.)

The early association of the author of this volume with the well-kept forests of Germany, his subsequent observations in the widely differing forest districts of our own country, and his years of experience in teaching the science, are all evidenced in a book which is not only elementary, but practical to every forester or student of forestry. The work is at once valuable as a text-book for schools, as a manual to be kept in country homes, and as a comprehensive work for any one's reading. Fortunately for the layman, the author expresses himself in non-technical and conversational language. The illustrations, while interesting, hardly match the value of the text.

Flowers of Song from Many Lands: Being Short Poems and Detached Verses Gathered from Various Languages. Rendered into English by Frederic Rowland Marvin. The Pafraets Book Co., New York. 7×10½ in. 138 pages.

The list of poetic fragments in this collection includes couplets, quotations, and somewhat longer selections from the German, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Scandinavian, Greenlandic, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Sanscrit, Phœnician, Assyrian, Latin, Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Ashanti, South Sea Islands, and Osage Indian literatures. Each specimen, says the collector, who in many cases is translator also, is characteristic of the soil and climate whence it was taken.

Fordwell Graham. By W. June Arlington. Allen, Lane & Scott, Philadelphia. 5½×8 in. 414 pages. $1.25.

His Excellency's English Governess. By Sydney C. Grier. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 367 pages. $1.25.

In vivid presentation of life in the Orient lies the fascinating quality of Mr. Grier's novels. The heroine, a young lady of beauty, culture, and high social standing, becomes the feminine guardian of Azim Bey, the ten-year-old son of Ahmed Khemi Pasha, and takes up her residence in that gentleman's harem. She is not welcomed by the Pasha's mother, that lady having a mind to poison the poor little Bey, who is by all odds the most entertaining person in the book. There is interesting exposition of zenana etiquette, gossip, bickerings, and jealousies, and an unusual view is given of its tyrannical hold over its lord and master, who had been commonly considered as the oppressor and never the oppressed. The relation of Turks, Armenians, and Kurds is pictured in not quite the ordinary way.

Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series. By William Stubbs, D.D. Collected and Edited by Arthur Hassall, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 6×9 in. 534 pages. $5.

Reserved for later notice.

History of Over Sea (The). Done into English by William Morris. With Decorations by Louis Rhead. R. W. Russell, New York. 8×10½ in. 28 pages.

It is unfortunate that this very attractively made thin quarto was not published earlier. In its text, its illustration, and its binding it is emphatically a high-class holiday book, written in delightful English and sumptuously dressed. Of the class of prose writings to which "The History of Over Sea" belongs it is only necessary to say that they are written in that archaic English which Morris could use as well, probably, as any man of his generation, and that they represent the romantic side of his mind, his love of the mystical. The decorations for this volume are furnished by Mr. Louis Rhead, and the cover design is strongly suggestive of Persian book decoration.

How to Sing (Meine Gesangskunst). By Lilli Lehmann. Translated from the German by Richard Aldrich. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×7¾ in. 281 pages. $1.50, net.

To most readers the fact that this book was written by Mme. Lehmann, whose identification with a number of Wagner rôles has made her known almost personally to thousands, will give to it a real interest in spite of its technical character. A large part of the volume is taken up with careful and minute instructions, illustrated with diagrams. The reviewer cannot help thinking that Mme. Lehmann has attempted to do through the medium of the printed page what can be done only by oral instruction. Nevertheless, the general sanity that is apparent in her fundamental principles is worth the attention of those who cannot find the details in her work very illuminating. She has little respect for the singer who yields to "indisposition." "If you wish to sing only when you are in good form," she remarks, "you must excuse yourself ninety-nine times out of a hundred." Some of her advice she would probably modify, if not reverse, in dealing with pupils of certain temperament. On one point her views are worth quoting. She is roundly—and, in our view, soundly—opposed to the artificial division of the voice into three registers. "It will be much more correct," she suggests, "to call every tone of every voice by the name of a new additional register, for in the end every tone will and *must* be taken in a different position of the organs, although the difference may be imperceptible, if it is to have its proper place in the whole." A few anecdotes and reminiscences give a readable quality to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the earlier pages. Behind the entire book is the authority of one whose mastery of the art of singing in the song recital as well as upon the operatic stage places her among the foremost singers of our time.

Hudson River (The): From Ocean to Source. By Edgar Mayhew Bacon. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 6½×10 in. 590 pages. $4.50, net.

Mr. Bacon, the author of this handsomely made volume, has long been a devout student of the scenery, history, and legends of the region through which the Hudson River flows. His "Chronicles of Tarrytown," published some time ago, was the first fruit of his investigations, and bore evidence of his qualification, by reason not only of familiarity with the material with which he dealt but of vital interest in it, to become the recorder and historian of the Hudson River country. For his book is both a record and an impression. He describes, in effect, nearly the whole course of the river; but he does it in connection with its chief historical points and its personal associations. He conveys the physiognomy of the country, so to speak; he tells its early history in an informal and engaging fashion, and he associates it with the men who have lived near it, and with the events which have taken place at its different points. Beginning with the exploration of the river by the Englishman Hudson, in the Dutch ship Half Moon, under the authority of the Dutch East India Company, he traces the gradual ascent of the river and its slow settlement along either bank from New York to Troy. Disclaiming any attempt to make the historical narrative continuous, Mr. Bacon has so woven together the different chapters in the settlement of the river country and the incidents connecting it with different localities as to make a story which has unity if not continuity. He writes not only of the oldest New York, but of the newest New York; and the interest of his sketch proves that he has an eye for the many artistic effects about the metropolis which are often overlooked. He gives a very interesting account of the festivals and pageants which have taken place in New York. He describes the early settlers in the Hudson Valley; the early navigation, with the great changes which were introduced with the appearances of steam upon the river. He groups the incidents and history of the Revolution; he has two delightful chapters on "The Land of Irving" and the literary associations of the Hudson; he writes of West Point, of the old Dutch towns, and of many other aspects of his subject, not too heavily, and with a strong infusion of tradition and anecdote, much of which will be new to most readers; for Mr. Bacon has evidently put behind the work thorough examination of the sources of local history. The value of this handsome quarto does not depend solely on the attractiveness with which Mr. Bacon has invested the whole subject; it is a kind of foot-note to the more conventional histories, because it throws light upon the life and habits of the earliest settlers. It is a study in Dutch civilization in the New World, severe enough in intention to be accurate, but easy enough in temper to take in a great deal of humor, and to comment upon those characteristic customs and habits which, while they escape the attention of the formal historian, are full of significance. The book contains more than a hundred illustrations—reproductions of photographs, engravings, and drawings by Mr. Bacon, and with some very interesting reproductions of paintings by Boynton, Weir, Casilear, and Seavey. Each volume is accompanied by sectional maps of the river in a slip which will be of value to those readers who like to follow with the eye the country about which they are reading. The book is eminently readable in style. Its only serious defect is its uncomfortable weight in the hand.

Introduction to the Talmud. By M. Mielziner, Ph.D., D.D. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 297 pages. $2, net.

As Christianity in its formal aspect has rested more on the great doctors of the Church than on the New Testament, so has Judaism rested on the great doctors of the Synagogue more than on the Old Testament. This is still true of Judaism, though there have been earnest pleas lately for that return to the ancient Scriptures which is so significant of the reforming Christianity of to-day. But to understand Judaism as it is, and why it is what it is, one must know something of the Talmud, just as one who would understand certain aspects of Christianity must know something of the early Church fathers and of the fathers of Protestantism. The large attention now given to Biblical study has drawn increased attention to the Talmud for its value in questions of Biblical exegesis and criticism. It is, indeed, a vast mine of learning and of speculation, much of it antiquated, but also with much precious metal embedded in unserviceable material. Professor Mielziner has facilitated the comprehension of an intricate subject by producing the first comprehensive work of its kind in our language. It is enriched by a copious bibliography of works in special departments of Talmudic lore. Readers who have some knowledge of Hebrew will find it more valuable than others.

Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers. Vol. V., 1774-1775. Published by the Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Edited by Stanislaus Murray Hamilton. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 6×9 in. 288 pages. $5, net.

Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene (The). By Lewis Wager. (The Decennial Publications, Second Series, Vol. I.) The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 6×9 in. 91 pages.

Manual of Zoölogy (A). By Richard Hertwig. Translated and Edited by J. S. Kingsley. From the Fifth German Edition. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5¾×8½ in. 704 pages.

In a scientific aspect this is a splendid work. Professor Kingsley has edited, with modifications permitted by the author and with added illustrations, the treatise which holds in German schools the foremost place in its field, and has thus adapted it to the requirements of American students beginning the subject. Professor Hertwig is more admirable as a scientist than as a philosopher; perhaps it is well that he very seldom philosophizes in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

present work. He confesses frankly enough that the secret of life is inscrutable, the goal sought by science in the physical basis of life is "indiscernibly distant," yet he does not hesitate to approve "the attempt to explain life as the summation of extremely complicated chemico-physical processes." These processes are doubtless essential to the manifestation of life, but it is quite a jump to infer from this that their summation is essential to the existence of life. These processes go on destructively in a dead organism. What is it that sets them going constructively in a living organism?

Memorable Places Among the Holy Hills. By Robert Laird Stewart, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8 in. 250 pages. $1, net.

Availing himself of the explorations of recent travelers and discoverers as well as of his own, Dr. Stewart has made a book of real interest to readers of the Bible.

Perseus and Andromeda. Retold by Richard Le Gallienne. Illustrated. R. H. Russell, New York. 5½×8½ in. 54 pages.

A free translation from Ovid, but amplified and treated in a poetic spirit. Reproductions of the Vatican Perseus, of Cellini's Perseus, of Burne-Jones's Medusa, and of the Vatican Minerva make interesting illustration.

Reminiscences, Musical and Other. By Fanny Reed. Illustrated. Knight & Millet, Boston. 5×8 in. 158 pages. $2.50.

The persons, eminent mainly in artistic circles, who are the subjects of the various chapters, are widely various, as may be indicated by the names of Liszt, the Marquise de Bloqueville, Coquelin, and Munkacsy. It is not easy to understand why so much that is merely biographical and appreciative should be included under the title Reminiscences. Scattered through the volume are a number of interesting and characteristic anecdotes.

Sinless Christ (The). By George Tybout Purves, D.D., LL.D. (The Presbyterian Pulpit, No. I.) **For Whom Christ Died.** By William R. Richards, D.D. (The Presbyterian Pulpit, No. II.) The Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. Per vol., 75c., net.

Presbyterians have begun to do what Unitarians have long been doing, but with this difference: instead of frequently publishing single sermons of representative preachers, they are to issue from time to time small volumes, each containing eight sermons by the same author. The present volumes begin the series. Of their authors, Dr. Richards, recently succeeding Dr. Babcock in the Brick Church, New York, is less widely known; but for freshness and power it would be hard to find better sermons than he has presented here.

Socialism and Labor, and Other Arguments Social, Political, and Patriotic. By Rt. Rev. J. L. Spalding. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 4½×7 in. 225 pages. 80c., net.

Son of Destiny (A): The Story of Andrew Jackson. By Mary C. Francis. The Federal Book Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 459 pages.

A badly written historical novel.

Spain and Her People. By Jeremiah Zimmerman, LL.D. Illustrated. George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. 5½×8½ in. 350 pages. $2, net.

Dr. Zimmerman can hardly congratulate himself on possessing a particularly good literary style, but he can feel well satisfied at having given to the world much interesting and valuable information concerning Spanish history, politics, and society. Actual conditions in Spain from the actual traveler's standpoint may be obtained with greater color and vividness from such works as Miss Bates's "Spanish Highways and Byways," Mr. Jacacci's "On the Trail of Don Quixote," above all, from Baron Davillier's "L'Espagne." The chief merit of the present volume is in its explanation of recent conditions; such as the appallingly phlegmatic national spirit in the face of the loss of a hundred thousand men who fell during the recent insurrections and during the more recent Spanish-American war; and such as the loss of Spain's great colonial possessions, involving the abandonment by a hundred thousand colonials of their former homes and their return to the mother country. Yet there is much valor, probity, and generosity in the individual Spaniard, and these qualities as indicated by our author are as admirable as ever. The illustrations are interesting and would well illustrate the text had they been better placed. The picture of the Cordova mosque looks belated, twenty-five pages after the author had finished his description of Cordova and was claiming his reader's attention with Madrid and the Escorial; in like manner, an illustration of a Madrid square finds its space in the chapter on Segovia, while not until we are in the midst of the chapter on Saragossa are we favored with a view of the Escorial.

Text-Book of Nursing (A): For the Use of Training Schools, Families, and Private Students. By Clara Weeks-Shaw. (Third Edition, Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged.) Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 397 pages. $1.75.

This book has stood the test of actual use, and has been found clear, complete, and admirably adapted for precisely the uses indicated in the sub-title.

Theism *et als.* By the Rev. Charles Caverno, A.M., LL.D. The Abbey Press, New York. 5×8 in. 246 pages.

Dr. Caverno writes clearly and incisively. Those who have met with his occasional articles on theism and other topics related to it, for which his present title employs the abbreviation used by lawyers, will welcome their collection in this volume. To him intelligence, ethics, and æsthetics are inseparable from theism. The scientist, the moralist, the artist, if whole-minded, must be theists. His chapter on "The Unity of Moral Dynamism" is a most desirable broadening of the popular conception of the agency of the Holy Spirit, which Dr. Caverno recognizes in the primary movings of untutored conscience as really as in the aspirations of the saint.

Under the Pine-Tree Flag. By Willis Boyd Allen. Illustrated. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 5×7½ in. 274 pages.

With Washington at Valley Forge. By W. Bert Foster. Illustrated. The Penn Publishing Co., Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 369 pages. 90c., net.

The young hero is with the Revolutionary army at Brandywine and Valley Forge. His adventures are told in a way that will probably interest boys.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED